KONA COMMUNITY MEETING #1

Yano Hall, Captain Cook, Kona

September 25, 1980

Michiko Kodama (MK): Community meeting no. 1, for "A Social History of Kona" project, at Yano Hall; in Captain Cook, Kona, Hawaii; on September 25, 1980.

Faye Komagata: I'm Faye Komagata and I'll be working on this project here in Kona for the coming year. We'll have Michiko Kodama, Professor Boggs who will talk to us about the project. This is Stephen Boggs from the University [of Hawaii at Manoa], and he's working with us. He will explain to you about what the Kona project is all about.

Stephen Boggs (SB): Good evening and thank you all for coming. These two, Faye and Michiko, have been working for over a month, as some of you know because we've met with you before, making preparations for this meeting. So, it's a very exciting time for us to see you all finally here. We hope that the evening will be helpful to us and also interesting to you. Since I'm a college professor, I know that it's not going to be interesting to you if I talk for more than five minutes, so I'm not going to be talking more than five minutes.

The purpose of tonight's meeting is to let you know what we're doing here in Kona, what the point of this project is, and to explain the project. Let me begin that by saying that some years ago, about ten years ago, some of the students and the younger faculty over at the University felt that the history that our local students learn when they go to high school or to the University is a very selected history. It deals with the important political events and happenings with the important people and it doesn't have anything to say about the great majority of the people who have actually made Hawaii the way it is today. And because they felt so strongly about that, they protested to the University and finally got established an Ethnic Studies Program. The point of that program is to go out and talk to the people of Hawaii, especially the older people of Hawaii, and get their story. Now, when we come here and talk about it as "history," people get put off because they think about the other kind of history, and they say, "Well, I didn't do anything important; I don't have anything to say," and so on. That's not so. The whole point of this project is to get your story.

Whenever you talk anywhere in Hawaii about Kona, we get an immediate reaction from anybody who's local that there's something special and something unique about Kona. One of the things we hope to do when we're finished with this project is to try to describe in

print, in pictures, and in slideshows what it is that makes everybody feel that Kona is so special. One of the reasons why Kona is so special is that everybody here and each nationality group here has had a unique experience. They had a unique story to their lives. And so, our purpose is to try to gather that story. Now, to explain this project to you better, in just a few minutes, we're going to divide up into several groups, small enough so that each of you has an opportunity to speak your mana'o--to give what's on your minds. And there're going to be leaders in each one of those groups to raise questions for you to talk about. By actually going into the purpose of the project with you tonight in these little groups so that you get some idea of the kind of thing we're looking for [and] by answering or attempting to answer these questions, you'll get a better idea of what the whole project is about. And that's the major purpose of tonight's meeting--is to introduce us to you and the purpose of this project to you, and we think the best way we can do that is by having you actually discuss the kinds of things we're trying to get out of this project as a whole. Michiko is now going to explain how we go about from here. Michiko?

MK: Well, in the past, we've come out to a community that we want to know about, and get to know the people, and then we start doing interviews with the people and have them talk about themselves, and their lives, and their feelings. Here, in Kona, we're going to start our interviews in a couple of weeks on tape and it's going to take many, many months. And it's finally all going to come out in a book form in June. We generally put out about two volumes for each project, and each person who is interviewed gets a portion of the book. He (or she) gets his or her own interview portion and also some introductory material and some photographic material. If, later on [in] the project, we find that we can give a little bit more to the people--if the people feel that they want something else from us--we'll be willing to try and accomodate the community. And all along the project time, we let people look at what they're saying to us, and if they want to change anything or if they want to stop or if they want to add more material, we welcome them to do that. And if we borrow anything from them, we always return it. And we always get their final approval before we do anything with it, in terms of a published form. Eventually it'll go to state libraries, like the one here in Kona, Kailua; all around the state; and to the university libraries.

And we also like to make a special effort to make sure that libraries here in Kona receive sufficient copies for the people who'll be helping us so much during the coming months. And so, during the next few months, if you hear about Faye, myself, or Mr. Modesto Daranciang, who's sitting right next to Steve, knocking on your door or visiting your neighbors or friends, rest assured that we are who we say we are and we're serious about what we're doing. So, we'll be doing our oral histories up to June, and in between, we'll be having three more meetings. In one of them, we'll be showing you slideshows and displays based on some work we've done.

And later on, we'll ask you to compare the Kona material with material we got from other places. So, that will be coming up in the next nine months, or so. We welcome your help and support in this.

SB: Do you want to mention the funding information?

MK: Well, we're funded by the State Legislature through the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, and we're also partially funded by the Hawaii Committee for the Humanities. When these books are made available, some are made available to other groups and individuals who may want to purchase them. But we only charge the cost. We don't do anything for profit. So, we're not an outfit out here to get all your information and make millions off of your knowledge. So, we're not here for the money. We'd like your help, and we'd like to do something for you, too. And, I guess another cautionary note has to be stated. Although we may come to visit your friends or family members, it may be that we may not choose that particular person to be taped on a cassette, but we'll try to do something so that the material is preserved. And if that person wishes to have his or her material, we'll make it available to her and to the family.

Now, we'd like to have you folks group yourselves into small groups that you feel comfortable talking in. And you can separate yourselves in any part of the room that you'd like to.

(Taping stops for small group discussions, then resumes.)

SB: Sotero, are you ready?

Sotero Bailado: Yeah, I want to go to bed, that's why.

(Laughter)

Sotero: First of all, Dr. Boggs, thanks for giving us the opportunity to do our thing. Basically, this group here represents the Filipino group. And these are the things that we thought we would like to see included [in a history of Kona]. Modesto is going to add to what I have missed, maybe. Somehow, we had a Japanese fella here. He wanted to join us, Mr. [Lloyd] Sugimoto. And we asked him to give his input. He said he came here from Japan at age nine in 1908. And he moved to Kona from Honolulu at about the year 1923 or 1924, he wasn't certain. He'd like this to be remembered: he said that the United States government at that time discouraged the Japanese language educational program, but somehow, it was overruled. And he remembers very clearly the generosity of the people of Kona. Till this very day, he remembers how the housing conditions in Kona--that was very, very poor. Carmen Yurong, who practically grew up here--and she happens to be my sister--remembers hard times, hard work, picking coffee at 50 cents a bag, as compared to

$10, $15 today. She remembers the lack of water--maybe you don't bathe two, three days, a week. No electricity. Rose Eugenio remembers hard times and how they took care of cooking their own staples--taro, 'ulu--breadfruit--to take care of food. And then, to earn extra money, they had to take care of lau hala leaves, wove them into hats. And that paid 35 cents per hat. She remembers the lack of transportation in the past. Our good friend here, Mr. Ciriaco Tubig, all tonight, when I ask him the most outstanding or the most vivid thing that he remembers or he'd like to be remembered with is that he loves to gamble.

(Laughter)

Sotero: But look at him today. He looks much, much younger than me. So, there must be something to that.

Ciriaco Tubig: There's some kind of flattery that he's thinking about me now. And he's younger man. He's really a son of mine, I think, if I'm not mistaken, see?

Sotero: Now. The second thing that we talked about was, "What would you like to include in the history of Kona?" As far as the Filipinos are concerned, they'd like to include December 30th, which is the national holiday of the Philippines. They have a person by the name of Jose Rizal, who they worship almost as a god. And the religious observance of the saints. Filipinos are religious people. They'd spend their last dollar to celebrate and worship saints. And then, something that I don't particularly like, but they want to remember, the Filipino Dance Hall over at Honaunau.

(Laughter)

Sotero: It's a big thing among the Filipinos. Social boxes, which is, if you had a pretty daughter, she put something in the box and the Filipinos would bid for it, hoping that in addition to winning the box, the admiration of that particular gal can also be won. And then, like it or not, cockfights. The Filipinos believe in this. It's a national sport. To them, it's a lifestyle. To the other ethnic groups, it's money. And then, we have areas. You know, nice gathering place--poolhall. Honaunau was one of the loved spots. Captain Cook, where Speedy Ogata's dad used to own. And right now, I think, Yamagata Poolhall. If you pass there, afternoon--anytime in the afternoon, you see all the old Filipinos congregated over there.

How do we want the whole thing ["A Social History of Kona" volumes] used later on when it's all compiled? We'd like it to be used for educational purposes. We'd like it to be used by community groups, such as this, or any other organization. And maybe during festivals, holidays, and when we want to review and think about Kona's history. This, Dr. Boggs, in capsule form, are the things that I recorded in my notes. I don't know if Modesto . . .

SB: I wish my graduate students at the University could do as good a job. That's really wonderful. Modesto. Thank you very much.

Modesto Daranciang: Yeah. May I supplement you? On question number two, "if you are putting together a history of Kona, what would you like to include in topics like events, areas, people?" One of our people here, Lloyd [Sugimoto], is half Filipino, half Japanese. He said there were events like an industry. In 1929 or 1930, he remembers that there was a tobbaco company in Honaunau. It was headed by a Mr. (inaudible). But he said they stopped planting because there was no profit. And earlier, before 1920, he said they planted pineapple in Honaunau, the place now where they have what we call the coffee mill. Also, he remembers also the places where people have their recreation, frequented by both Japanese and Filipinos, he said. In 1950s, when coffee price was good, he said they had the Honaunau Theater, they had the Char Lee Import Store, they had the Masa Bar, they had the Yoshino Restaurant, and they had another restaurant and bar. And another is the Kubo Store. He also remembers vividly about some coffee mills. Like there was a Wing Coffee Mill, he said. Then, probably taken over by Mr. Imai. Then, with that, he said there was also another coffee mill called Kudo Coffee Mill. Then the Kamigatas' mill.

SB: Thank you, Modesto, for adding to that. Next group like to volunteer? Mr. Shimoda, would you . . .

Jerry Shimoda: We have our report divided into three parts. As you noticed, we have quite a variation in age. Five years of residence to 68 years, I think, or 70, whatever it is. And "if you were planning a life history, what would you like to include in it and why?" And one of the things that was discussed was the living conditions under the territory and the political changes that came about from the very beginning to the monarchy to the territory to the state. And then, the changes that have come about, such as the land ownership. And the Hawaiians were the original people, and different peoples migrated in different periods and the impacts of the cultures would be interesting to look into. And the transportation changes in Kona. Some of the older people remember walking to school, and then, later on, the bus system coming in. Also, something about the depression and the NYA program that existed for high school students, as well as the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps]. And I understand that in the NYA, the pay was about 25 cents an hour. And then, the World War II, when people were frozen to essential jobs and there were lots of soldiers here. They were outsiders, and yet it was important that the people of Kona cared for them and that they cared for the people of Kona. And the military camp was in Kaumuela, and many changes took place as a result of the second world war. And there's also talk about harmony in the community, especially in the 1930s and the 1940s, and with the formation of the kumiai [mutual aid association] and the getting together of people. And someone talked about the manuahi [bonus] system. In the old days, when the people went fishing, if you bought fish from

them, they gave you a couple of extra, but, later on, that turned around and now, you sell something and you get taxed for it.

(Laughter)

Jerry: And in Kona, the feeling was that the lives of the people were not controlled as much as the lives of the people on plantations were controlled by the bosses. And then, the biggest changes that took place probably came when the territory became a state. And someone also remembered that cattle was shipped out of Kailua Bay. And that it ended in the late 1950s, which was really the end of an era here in Kona.

Hannah Springer: We were concerned about putting into a general history of Kona the social changes, primarily due to immigration, war, and the transitional periods from, again, the monarchy to the provisional government to the territory to the state and so on. The recreational aspect of Kona, we thought, should be looked into. There are archeological remnants of the recreation that took place here in the pre-contact period, and today we have no such tournaments. But our older resident resource person was commenting that, in response to a question, today we have canoe races where participants come from the other islands, the continental United States and so on, but in the older days, they were primarily the little hamlets of Kona that participated in the canoe races. Milolii had a strong canoe [group], Hookena, Kealakekua, and so on. So, to talk about this transition as well.

And then, there were the openings of the transportation arteries which impacted the farmers economically, and the land in an environmental sense. The coffee industry, we think, should be focused on, and it should be noted that trends in purchasing seemed to favor foreign coffee after a certain point over Kona coffee due to, I guess you could say, the price being better from away, and that the small farmers did not get federal aids that the plantations and other large monocultures did. Catchment water was mentioned and that county water has been a great aid and asset to the small farmer as well as other members of the community. It was also mentioned that in 1956 there was still no county water in Kainaliu. And that many families preferred to keep their catchment water, even though county water is available because it tastes better and the residents remember times when the water was suffficiently diminished and the catchments did help them out.

We mentioned, briefly, the impact of volcanic activity in Kona, such as the '50 flows, down in South Kona. And around 1929, when there was some earthquake activity in Hualalai. And it was mentioned that recent media communications made available to us the fact that Hualalai may be impending an eruption in the future. And we just think that all of this is important because a continuity is what we're looking for--a transition from the older time to the newer time.

Jerry: One thing I'd like to add to that. This gentleman mentioned that during the time of the territory change to a state, or whatever, there was no work on Sundays. I thought that was rather something that you would . . .

Sherwood Greenwell: That was in the days of the monarchy.

(Laughter)

Hannah: Unfortunately, we didn't have enough time to answer the first question, "How would you like to see your oral histories used?," but did have a chance at least list three mana'os--three thoughts. That it be used for historical reference, and we were thinking in terms of the future generations. And that it provide continuity to help fill some of the gaps that could help in joining this link of chain--chains of links?--together so that we have an overall picture of the lifestyle here in Kona. And also that, perhaps in some way, this information could be used to preserve historical sites, historical structures. We were speaking of a church that one of our members of our group here remembered. His father assisted in building this old church and thought that this kind of information could help in this way.

SB: Thank you very much, Hannah. Sherwood, your group?

Alfrieda Fujita: We have two leaders here, Sherwood and Norman.

Sherwood: Three now.

(Laughter)

Alfrieda: It seems that many of you have touched some of our same topics, so . . . but particularly one. Maybe its because the "Shogun" movie is on.

(Laughter)

Alfrieda: The group really felt that in our past life, the family upbringing played a very important role in our lives. As you know, the father or the parents were the shogun, and they really taught us respect for elders and discipline--and I hope well discipline, as you can see tonight (laughs). And the concern for others and etiquette. And also, education was strict. And the code of ethics, especially "thou shall not steal." It was always practiced at home. Or, "do something for others whether you're rich or poor, or whether you're different colors." I mean, you always give. They always taught us to do that. And I think that really makes us a better human being. It played a very important role as we have lived throughout up until this time. I hope you can say that for our children, but probably . . .

(Laughter)

Alfrieda: The other thing that we'd like to mention is, in the Oriental families, they had this little hui called tanomoshi--maybe I'm not pronouncing it right. But this was a little hui where all the fathers of the members of the family got together. And it was an honor system. It gave financial aid to the families. I can't explain how it really ran, but it played a very important role. Where I needed $30 to send my daughter to school, then you come in and you put in your little bid there. And if you're the lowest bidder or whatever it is--or the highest bidder--will get that amount of money. And this was the loan system, but it was really an honor system. And I remember how my grandfather used to have this at our home, and, to me, it was like a big party because they have lots of food and all the okazu and all. And another thing that we'd like to mention--and I think someone stated--it was the kumiai. And the kumiais were really to help others. And I believe, way before my time, there weren't transportation, there weren't emergency units, they didn't have a funeral parlour, and so they had a kumiai to help the family. This way, they really took the burden out from the family that was suffering from death or illness. I think this was a very good organization--the kumiai. I think, today, it still is being carried on.

I'd like to mention particularly, I have come through--when I was very little the depression days [and] picking coffee. But, I think, coffee picking has given me a deeper sense of responsibility of helping the family. It was picking coffee with aunties and uncles, and grandfathers, and fathers and mothers. It wasn't just me. And this, to me at that time, it was hard work. But today, I cherish those memories when my aunt would be up on the ladder, picking coffee, and would be giving the high school yell to me. And here, I was a little girl, and she said, "When you go to high school, now, this is what you have to do." And this was all done in the coffee field. You know, we had lots to learn in the coffee field. We did a lot of things. We would eat musubi or o-bentos in the coffee land, nothing fancy. But I think this was really getting together with the parents, not just your friends, but get your aunts, uncles, and learning from them, too. We used to pick up coffee beans and my aunt used to give five cents a can--of the Crisco can--and I used to always want to get five cents. I would go, during my time, to pick up as much parchment as I could. This is part of my experiences and some of, I think, Mrs. [Kikue] Kurashige--hers and Norman and some others that I may have forgotten. We tried to put our thoughts here. Lillian [Hayashi Towata], do you have anything more?

SB: Anyone else would like to add? Morris? Your group?

(Brief discussion about who should report next.)

Herbert Okano: Anyway, I have the "Social History of Kona." "If you were putting together a history of Kona, what would you like to include?" Oral history and all that. And on this section, we

talked about the cultural history of Kona. These Japanese schools that we attended, it started. The Kona Hospital is not quite a cultural, but a service-type of a organization which they were starting. And lot of the biggest things, I think, under culture was not only the Japanese schools, but the Kona Echo, which was published first in 1897 by editor, Dr. Saburo Hayashi, who happens to be Lillian Towata's father. It was written in the Japanese language, and the early issues were all hand-written. There was no type-set. And the contents covered your local news, and at that time, we didn't have a territorial government yet, as I understood it. We were still here under a provisional government. It also had world news. It had haiku poems, waka, etc. And this was a weekly issue. At first, it was in Japanese, and later on, they added the English-language section, also. And this Kona Echo, it lasted for at least a good 15 years or thereabouts. A good 15 years.

And then, other than cultural, we go into some of the more economic. In economics, some of these panel members in our group remember the sugarcane plantations that were in Kona, the first Kona Development Company, which ended in about 1924, as I understand it. The reason why it went bankrupt or ceased to function further is the drought. Much of the equipment was shipped to the Philippines from Kona. Then, also, as I understand it, we had tobbaco plantations, as reported by the other groups. One in Keokea, and two in Honaunau. And it was founded by Gerritt Smith. This lasted only for three years. And I think that also the drought.

Sherwood: I heard they made very good cigar tobbaco, but nobody knew how to wrap it. So, a good part of it was they had no place for it to go.

Herbert: The good wrappers are from Cuba.

(Laughter)

Herbert: Then, some of them said that they remembered the cotton industry that was quite prevalent in Kona. Morris said that during his kid days, he used to go down to the Ashikawa Cotton Mill.

Morris Kimura: Ashikawa was in high school. Worked on Christmas vacation.

Herbert: That's right. Whenever we needed to repair the pillows, and all that, we used to--futon--we used to go to Kimura's Store, that's right. That's part of the cotton industry. We talked about Kona, the other things, like the electricity that came into Kona. It replaced quite a bit of our gas lanterns--not gas lanterns, kerosene lamps and lanterns. And it came in the 30s. And then, also, this is when the--Sherwood just mentioned now--that the coffee pulping machine was all done by gas motors, but when this electricity came into being, well, electric motors replaced much of the hand-starting machines. And then, the water system. The water

system came in in the'50s, and this is when the real estate value went high--sky high--all over.

Now, we go on to the air transportation. It came in in the 1940s. That's when the Hawaiian Airline--Alfreida still remembers when the first Hawaiian Airlines used to come in. It used to come in only about two or three days a week. And then, now, today we have about a dozen flights a day, perhaps more--15, 20 flights a day. And this had replaced the old Waialeale and all those ships. Yeah, they used to come over to Kona. It took them 24 hours as Sherwood mentioned.

Sherwood: Mail.

Herbert: Oh, mail, yeah.

Sherwood: Nineteen hours. An experience everybody should at one time appreciate.

Herbert: You slept with the cattle when you went to Honolulu?

Sherwood: No, (inaudible).

Herbert: Well, that was transportation system that we had. And then, we could have gone on further on this, but we went on to the people--some of the people that really played a big part in Kona's past. Dr. Saburo Hayashi, of course, who was the editor of the first Kona Echo and also physician--quite a humanitarian and a public servant. And, of course, his son, Dr. Chisato Hayashi, had taken over after a while. But now he is retired. And some of the notables of Kona, such as Judge [Masaji] Marumoto, who was born and raised at Captain Cook over here, yeah? Marumoto Store used to be. Marumoto Store is still there. And he's a federal judge. One other notable that came out of Kona--a local boy who picked coffee when he was a child--is engineer Iwashita. He's an electrical engineer at General Electric Company. He's quite an inventor. Inventor of the light which you see in the iceboxes, like that or refrigerators, you want to call it. He had thought about it. So, automatically, you open the door, the light comes out. They said that it was Iwashita's invention. Air condition, too. He played a big part in this invention, as I understand it. And then, one other is Dr. Baron Goto. He's from Kona. Quite an agricultural man. He had gone to the South American countries, working with the foreign countries, as well as also to the Thailand and all those other Asian countries. And he's part of East-West Center, too. I think he was one time the director of the East-West Center. We could have gone on and on, but I think they told us to try one of the coffee, so we gave up.

(Laughter)

SB: Thank you very much. Judy, I guess, your group?

Herbert: We have the last page.

SB: Oh, I'm sorry.

(Laughter)

Herbert: . . . should be used as a course available in local schools, available to libraries and local community organizations.

SB: Thank you.

Judy Umeno: Okay, I'll keep this one short. Well, we had a very interesting group here. Many of them thought the family businesses were very important in their lives. We had the tofu companies, and macadamia nut, blacksmithing, and coffee, also. And their schooling was also very important--English and Japanese school. Many of them had to quit school early to work on the farms. The women mentioned that education was very unimportant to the girls. They were expected to quit very early and to learn other skills, like sewing or things like that--the women's work. They also remember the hardships--walking barefooted on gravel roads. Like the water was also mentioned--the lack of water. Things are important to them--they remember the graduations from school were very, very big events in their life. And the churches were also very important. Many of them boarded at the church because their homes were so far away that they all stayed there. They learned various skills there--sewing, tea ceremony, I think, was mentioned also. Some names that were mentioned were L.C. Child, who was the Amfac manager. Willie Thompson, who was a rancher-politician. And the Ka'eo family. And they mentioned Mrs. [Katherine] Domingo as part of the family.

Pilipo Springer: I'd like to add, we put the names. These people are willing to be interviewed in-depth. Their names are all at the top.

SB: Very good. We don't have too much time for our general discussion, but I thought, I was particularly impressed by a discussion we had Wednesday night with Morris [Kimura], in which he expressed some reservations as to what we were really looking for and whether or not you folks tonight would be able to know what we were looking for. Now, I think, I didn't say this at the start. So, I'll just take a few minutes to say it now and to try to illustrate it. Behind all of this information that we hope to be able to accumulate and to put together and compile, which you can tell is going to be an enormous [effort]--how we're going to fit this all togther into a quilt that shows the picture of Kona is something that I have been sitting here, thinking, "My God, what am I going to say to those people." It's going to be very difficult to compile all of this. But it's not the information alone that we want to compile into this picture of what is unique about Kona. Beyond and above that, what we are trying to get out of this, and what we will come back to you, hopefully, again and again for, as we move along, is

some evaluation of it, some interpretation of it. Some statement of what about this story is of particular importance--what the people felt about it. And it is that aspect that I didn't stress earlier and that I've been listening to as I listen to your reports tonight. I can do nothing more than just sort of give you examples of these kinds of evaluations that we're going to be looking for as this material is put together.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

SB: (Commentary in progress) . . . Now, that's sort of a prime value of the kind that we'll be looking for. And it doesn't have to be stated outright. It can be stated in the stories that are told and how the stories were told, and sort of left for the reader to get. But we want to make sure that we tell your stories in such a way that that [value, feeling] comes out, okay? And hopefully, not heavy-handedly and so on. Another example of the kind of values that we'll be looking for in your stories was first mentioned tonight in talking about the generosity of Kona's people. The fact that servicemen, even though they were outsiders here and people had to put up with them during the war, still had to be treated right. The emphasis on harmony from 1930 to 1940. The existence of groups like the kumiai, which tended to be mutually helpful, or the mahi'ai (manuahi), giving away of fish. The tanomoshi, which was a sort of a social way to pool together people's resources and spread them around. These are all examples of that kind of thing. And underlying all of those, as mentioned particularly by Alfrieda's report and her group--the group she reported on--is the importance of the family upbringing which made all of these things possible. The respect for the elders, the concern for others, the code of ethics, the sense of working for a family and being responsible to the family--all of those are examples of the kinds of values that we'll be looking for in these stories.

I'll quit on this note but some things that we, I don't think, anticipated that came out here tonight also point in the direction of important values. I would give as examples of that--well, I can't not mention the importance of the whole social and recreational area, I don't want to repeat what's been said here, but obviously, there was an awful lot of importance attached to those recreational aspects of life in Kona and we want to get at the values that those represented, even though some of them, as you said, Mr. Bailado, you're not particularly proud of. But, still, they were important--they were values to many people, and so they need to be included. I'll keep my mouth shut on that, I'm not going to say it. I was going to say something about current recreation, but I better not.

But there are certain things that we did not anticipate that I

think make my ears perk up in terms of something that's valuable that I don't know about yet and we need to look farther in. One was the statement about small farmers not getting the same kind of support that government programs gave to other farmers. And I don't know quite all that is involved in that statement, but I think there's something very important there. Kona people have always been independent and they've always been small operators and somehow or other, they withstood not only all of these physical hardships, and the volcano, and the lava flows, and all the rest of that, but they also have withstood--probably, I'm guessing--a series of social programs that have not been designed for them. But I don't know. I mean, that's just the kind of thing we're listening for when we hear your stories. Another thing that kind of brought me up short is the impact of statehood. The statement that statehood had had a bigger impact than any of the periods that went before. And again, I think there's an important point there that we're not fully aware of right now and we're going to be looking more into.

I'll just finish up by saying that I want to pay respects to Madame Pele. I don't want to not mention her. The fact that we had not thought about investigating earthquakes, lava flows, possible in the future, made me think I better not omit including that in my report or we might not be here to give you a report. So, that's just sort of a thumbnail sketch of the kind of use that we will be asking your help again in the future to make of this material, as well as to assemble the information.

(Distribution of evaluation sheets.)

MK: Also, all those who served as recorders or group leaders, if you still have your sheets of paper, could you hand them in to either me or Faye at the end of the meeting?

(Filling in of evaluation sheets continues.)

MK: Can I please have your attention? Just a couple more announcements. I'd like to remind you folks that we'll be in this community and we'll be doing our interviews with the older folks starting in about two weeks from now, and we'll be continuing until before two months before June, and the finished product will be ready by June 30. In the Spring, in January, April and June, we'll be having meetings similar to this with some of the results of our work for you to look at, and comment, and help us with again. And at this time, we'd also like to ask you folks, if you do have any photographs that you'd like to share with our project, especially about Kona and the things that you consider important, please call the Daifukuji Soto Mission. Faye will be there, and the reverend will be photocopying them and returning your photos to you, so you needn't worry if you want to share them with us. And we'll also ask for your permission for any use we make of it, so if you do have photos, we'd really like to take a look at them.

We'd like to thank all of the group leaders or reporters, like Mr. Bailado, thank you very much. And Modesto, thank you. And from that group that had three recorders--Alfrieda, and Mr. Okano, and Sherwood Greenwell, thank you very much. And for Hannah, thank you. Jerry and Katherine, thank you very much. And Pilipo and Judy, thank you for giving your reports. And we also want to thank all of you for coming here tonight and missing Shogun. We'd like to say thank you to Shugen Komagata, the reverend, for taking photos tonight and Mrs. [Mildred] Oshima for helping with the sign-in sheets. And if any of you want to help co-sponsor this project, you're welcome to ask your organizations if they'd like to co-sponsor and we welcome your participation. Katherine?

Katherine Domingo: May I ask the method of acquiring the information that will compile this social history of Kona? You speak of photographs. Is this the direction you're heading? Using photographs as a means of working up something or are you headed in the direction of a one-to-one basis?

MK: We would like to do one-to-one interviews of people's life stories. But we would also like to use photographs in the book and also in getting people to talk about their past. We know that sometimes people like to look at photographs and then they remember things. So, we would like to use photographs in two ways.

Katherine: I ask because I have a commitment to a group of people that I'm representing this evening. And this was their part, and both of you are aware of it. Our request is that something like this, you handle in the direction of old photographs. Then, do I assume that your answer is, you're going on a one-to-one basis?

SB: Not solely, no.

MK: We would like to use both methods. We would like to have old photographs and have group meetings and have the type of discussion that we had tonight. Perhaps people will look at old photographs and say, "Oh, yeah, I remember that. And I remember doing this or that over there." And if people in that group would like to be interviewed on a one-to-one basis, then we would approach them. So it's a combination of the two methods.

SB: We're actually going to be rather limited on one-to-one interviews because of our budget. And we have a top limit of 60 people that we'll be on one-to-one interviews. But we have been going to the senior citizen centers this week and doing group interviews, and we plan to continue that kind of thing during the course of it, so that a good many people can have input that don't have to do it as individuals. However, if those individuals in the group would like copies of their contribution, we are going to type them up and give them to them just like they had regular interviews. That's something we thought about this week we've been here. The photographs is a method of getting people to talk. And we do like to use those as

much as we can, as soon as we get some to use. But not to go only that way. Not to only use that. But we can talk more about it. We'd like any other suggestions like that, too, by the way.

MK: So, if there aren't any more questions tonight, again, we thank you all for coming tonight and we hope to see in the Spring, and also on the streets and in your homes, probably, in the next couple months. Thank you very much for coming.

(Applause.)

MK: Don't forget your evaluations and your committee reports.

END OF TAPE

KONA COMMUNITY MEETING #2

Kona Hongwanji Mission, Kealakekua, Kona

February 26, 1981

(Meeting in progress)

Isabel Kresge: The first question was, "What did you learn from the slide show, 'Kona Kope'?" The historical background of Kona coffee, and how they had worked, and who they were. We also learned about the depression and the prosperity of the Kona coffee industry in the different eras. Some of us were a part of the Kona coffee picking time, and two of the ladies said, "We pioneers worked hard." And we also got some idea of how Kona looked from about 1915 until probably about 1979, around there.

On the next one, "While viewing the slide show, what thoughts and feelings came to your mind?" It was good seeing people that we know on the screen, and some of them said it took them back to when they were doing the same thing. And they also said one or more of them worked just as hard also.

The other question was, "In what ways can the slide show be improved?" The translation or the speaking could have been a little clearer. Also, at some points, it was not understandable. We couldn't make out a lot of it--not a lot of it, some parts of it. And we would have liked to have seen the dates of the pictures that were shown on the screen that weren't given. We said some of the slides went too fast. Now, maybe we felt that he [slide show projectionist] was either keeping up with who was talking or what was going on with that, or we kinda got lost in between on some of it.

And the last one was, "In what ways can you help us improve the slide show?" When I first moved here, I can't remember what year it was when West Hawaii first came out. Every week they had the historical society, I believe, that had put pictures and the story of all of it. And I had cut all of them out. I was so faithful in the very beginning of starting a scrapbook of it. I was just cleaning some boxes out the other day, and I find the boxes there, and I just cut 'em and laid 'em in the box. So, this may give me an incentive now to get them out and try to line them up. And one of the ladies told us that she may have a picture of a donkey with her husband or a Portuguese boy. (Laughter) Even if you did see a donkey on there, we could look at another donkey. We would like to see a better demonstration of pulling that roof out

over the coffee and taking it back. We did like seeing the people with their coffee baskets. I know my grandson went up to his grandfather and he put the little basket on and he went down and he picked coffee. Grandpa gave him five cents a pound for picking it. We did see some of the pictures clear, but. . . . Wait now. Mrs. Tanaka? You're Mrs. Tanaka, aren't you? You are too. She still has a basket. We were just wondering, too, if someone would have something like that, that they could take a picture of her and take a close-up of the basket or explain how it came about of how the basket was made and put on the person that picked the coffee. Thank you.

Michiko Kodama (MK): If the next group is ready, we'd like to have that person come up. I think, Judy? Would you be ready? You look like you're hurriedly writing something, so you must be ready.

Judy Umeno: Well, many members of our group are born and raised in Kona, and so they said that they've heard a lot of this background history from their parents, and so it wasn't so foreign to them. But they said it was very interesting to see the photographs, especially like the sisal plantation, which they never knew what it looked like. So, I think the photographs impressed our group.

As to improving the slide show, they would like to see, somehow, the kind of community rapport that they had shown. They're not sure how this can be done in pictures, but they felt that there was a lot of hard work, but then there were also good times, and they would like this shown. They felt that the methods of processing the coffee that were shown were not of the original process, and they would like to see more of that shown. I'm not too familiar with the coffee processing, but that moving roof that they had shown on the slide, they felt was a very modern kind of invention. The older method wasn't shown, where they had to push it [coffee] with a rake or whatever when the weather got bad. And they would also like to have information and more slides shown of the original coffee farmers. They felt that the original members were kind of slighted in the slide show.

The members also said that they would try and go through looking through their photographs and documents and see if they have anything that they could add to the slide show. But they also mentioned that during the war [World War II] that many of the community members destroyed lot of these things in fear of being interned during the war. And that was it.

MK: Mrs. Horiuchi, can we have someone from your group come up?

Harriet Horiuchi: The people in my group are all coffee farmers, except for one. We thought that the slide show was well put together, and we realize that the group had gone through a lot of work.

Maybe a little comment on the future of the coffee might be interesting to the people here, too.

And how it could be improved. One of the members in our group said maybe we should have a little more on the growing part of the coffee. Like pruning, and fertilizing, and all that.

That's about all we have. Thank you.

MK: Alfrieda, are you ready?

Alfrieda Fujita: I'm Alfrieda, and I have been born and raised in Kona, and actually worked on the coffee farm myself. I'm quite young yet. (Laughter) However, on my table, it seems as if Rose [Falconer] and Frances Lincoln are the old pioneers. [Rose Falconer and Frances Lincoln are old-time schoolteachers of the area.] Actually, they have not lived on the coffee farm, but they have been working with the families and they have many old experiences and stories.

As far as your two first questions, they were quite much the same as the others have already mentioned, so we won't cover that. But we felt that some of the slide show could be improved. We felt very strongly about the interviewees. Maybe instead of having their oral interviews, it could be maybe captioned on your slides, written, and in that way, your pictures will stand there longer, rather than cutting out very quickly and being a distraction. I'm quite sure, it's nothing against the interviewees, but that might help. That was one point that they have made.

And of course, the slides were very good, but as the rest have also mentioned, there are lots to be put in as to, like picking coffee. The trees are not all low, now. We had about 10 feet high trees, and I remember climbing up around 7-8 foot ladders, and still on the top, holding the hooks and trying to pick the coffee, you know. And at the end, I can't pick them, I just hit 'em with hooks, and my grandfather will get after me. But some of things like the hooks and, I think, the ladders were missing. And of course, when the jeeps took over the donkeys, then I think we should really show the caravan of how the jeeps came in after World War II. And the farmers were happy that they have the jeeps instead of the donkeys, which just took about four bags, and the jeeps took maybe ten bags of coffee. The difference of it. And I think about the [coffee] processing. As one gentleman on our table [said], I think

he's a new farmer, he really wanted to know actually how we dried the coffee, did we dry the coffee before, you know, just drying it with red with the skin on it. But I think we should really show it where the youngsters will unload it [coffee] from the donkey, [put it] on this little wagon or whatever, pour the coffee into the bin, and where either grandpa or uncles are grinding the coffee and yelling at the youngsters to put the coffee into the bin so they can grind it. It goes into the big wash pots where you washing your coffee with the foot, getting into the grader, and pulling it. And some of us tossing all over the place because very slippery. And really drying it. I think these [scenes] are missing.

I think, somehow, if you can contact maybe different organizations. There used to be some organizations--the old Kona coffee co-op or the Japanese associations. Maybe somebody might have pictures. Or maybe we should just advertise it in the papers, you know, saying, "Please, we need your help." And Frances [Lincoln] also mentioned that the Outdoor Circle, when it was first chartered, did have some pictures of Rose Falconer on the donkey, and this big Kona Coffee Festival. And Frances Lincoln, I think her legs were almost touching the road, and she's on the donkey, you know. All these could probably be in our slides. Maybe Mr. Harada, at one time, may have some stories or some pictures of the coffee, and we might be able to improve it.

Also, it hasn't mentioned in there, but because of the contour of the our land here, it's not flat, it's lot of rocks. We forgot to mention--or you may have, maybe I haven't listened to it carefully--but no poison was done during the early days. It was all by hand, by hoe. And how you had to fertilize the coffee trees [by hand] by one swing. They used to teach us, just one swing around the coffee tree and that should do it. But things like that, you might want to mention it. Thank you.

MK: Thank you so much, Alfrieda, your comments were really lively. Let's see, on the next table, Ed, are you going to be giving the report? Or Mr. Egami? Okay. Ed Fukunaga will give the report for that group.

Ed Fukunaga: I don't think we have much to contribute. At the first question, our table said we are all Kona people and old-timers, so we didn't learn anything. (Laughter)

The second question on what thoughts and feelings came to your mind. Well, they said it brought back memories of all the hardships of the past. Life wasn't very easy. Lots of hard work and so forth. Seeing so many dilapidated buildings and equipment gave me a sad feeling of seeing a dying industry.

And to the third question, some of our group recommended that the individuals who narrated [i.e., interviewees featured in the slide show] should be given credit by their names being mentioned. And also, maybe the owner of the slides may be mentioned now and then. Also, it might be a good idea if the dates and the person's age appearing in the slides are shown on the slide. That's all.

As far as the last question is concerned, the committee will get no help from our group. (Laughter)

MK: Now that we know Ed's true feelings, in the final version of the slide show, there may not be a slide of Ed Fukunaga, (laughter) but we'll see. Mr. Liau's group? Okay, Hannah?

Hannah Springer: Aloha. All members of our group were kama'āina of Kona and so were familiar with the conditions that were presented in the slide show. It was considered old stuff. Not to say boring, but everybody was familiar with the water situations, the diversified agriculture, and the hardships of agricultural pursuits.

During the viewing of the slide show, some members recalled working under the conditions which were presented. Basically, satisfaction with the presentation was felt by all members of the group. And the presentation is considered accurate.

In ways that the slide show could be improved, we felt that to add more pictures would clutter the presentation. And our only comment is that the tape is in parts difficult to follow and to understand, but that's due to the enunciation of the interviewees, rather than to the quality of the tape and so could not be improved on realistically. It was mentioned that Mr. Ackerman and Mrs. [Samuel Y.L.] Liau, respectively, that on his [Ackerman's] dad's ranch, there was a transition from donkey and horse use to jeep transportation. And Mrs. Liau commented that prior to using lau hala baskets, burlap bags with hoops to hold them open were used by the coffee pickers.

As ways to help you improve the slide show, one woman's comment on using artifacts in conjunction with the presentations I thought was good. And I have a personal question as to what Hawaiian residents of the area were doing. I believe there was only one [Hawaiian] interviewee and her comments were rather brief. So, that's a personal interjection. So, that's it.

MK: Let's see, on our next table, Modesto, will you be giving the report? Okay.

Modesto
Daranciang: Our table is made of--they say they are all kama'āinas, but I'm not very sure. But there is one of us there who has spent most of his life in working with coffee, so we talked most of his ideas.

For the first question, "What did you learn from the slide show, 'Kona Kope,'" he said the Kona people working on the coffee industry were at the mercy of the world prices. Also, they were also dependent upon millers or company stores for goods and supplies which were charged against their coffee prices [i.e., yearly coffee income].

Number two question, "While viewing the slide show, what thoughts and feelings came to your mind?" The need to document and preserve the steps involved in processing coffee and collect and preserve the tools and utensils used, like hand pulper.

Third question is, "In what ways can the slide show be improved?" The sound system need improving. Difficult to understand speakers. Explanation of the different buildings and their uses, like pulper house, drying platform, gas engine used to operate the pulper.

And the last question is, "In what ways can you help us improve the slide show?" There should be more sociological material on the family life.

MK: Oh, Mr. Inaba, will you give the group presentation?

Minoru
Inaba: Most of the members on our table were born and raised in Kona, so, in answer to the first question there, the group felt that they were rather familiar with the development of the coffee industry in Kona.

In answer to the second question, many of the group felt or recalled memories of their childhood. Most of them worked in the coffee fields and remember the difficult times that they had, hard work involved. Discussing the old times was really a pleasant discussion we had at the table. Some of them recalled the old buildings and incidents relative to the buildings, such as the old Hackfeld building in Kailua and so on.

In answer to question number three, the group felt that there should be more slides showing the processing of coffee--the facilities, equipment used in the coffee industry, such as the coffee platform. How they used to get up early in the morning, wash their coffee by stamping on the coffee, and so on. I remember I had a visitor from Honolulu way back. Fella by the

name of John Young, who was with the YMCA [Young Men's Christian Association]. He came to Kona for a visit, so I took him on the tour of the district. And after a while, he told me, "I wonder if something is wrong with me." I said, "Why?" He said, "I thought I saw a house moving." (Laughter) So, I didn't say anything. I knew what it was. So, I thought I'd let him brood over it a little longer. He said, "I wonder if something is really wrong with me." And so I said, "No, that's the coffee covering over the platform that is moved every morning and in the afternoon." Well, anyway, I think the group felt that more family and social life of the early coffee farmers should be depicted in the slides. Now, probably due to the acoustics in this hall, the interviews were not too clear. The group felt that there should be more village scenes, like Kainaliu, Holualoa, Honaunau and so on, and the old buildings.

Then, in answer to question number four, the group felt that we all can inform people, ask them to contribute whatever old pictures they have, old incidents or interesting episodes relative to the coffee industry.

MK: Will the next group send up their group representative? Morris or Sotero?

Sotero Bailado: Good evening. When the lights went on this evening, I saw all of my friends, and they asked me, "How come you weren't in the film?" My answer was, "I'm a little bit too young." (Laughter) But really, the film reminded me of my time when I was a little boy in Kona. Beautiful.

We want to answer the four questions here. But before I do that, I'd like to say that the people sitting at our table there on the far right, 50 percent of them are the stars of the movie tonight. (Laughter) So, everything I write down, they have to edit. They are Filipe Kane, Mr. and Mrs. Gregorio Lisaca, Rufo Suelto, Raymundo Agustin, and we have a foreigner there, Margie Floron. And Amy Bailado, who happens to be my date tonight.

What did we learn from the show? Mrs. Lisaca tells us that she learned about the drastic changes in the processing of coffee and macadamia nut. She didn't realize how it was processed way back. She's really a newcomer here, and she thought it wasn't that hard. The others, they said that they learned of the significant changes in the community of Kona, from its simple lifestyle to what it is today. I tried to find out which would they prefer. It's debatable, so I leave it at that.

"In viewing the slide show, what thoughts and feelings came to

your mind?" Mr. Lisaca tells us that it reminded him of his personal role as a coffee picker. Amy Bailado said she's reminded of hard, hard work, and of hard times. She doesn't know if we still are in hard times. (Laughter) And Rufus Suelto tells me that he is reminded of his family, his friends, the good old days, when there were many, many Filipinos here in Kona. Today, you can count 'em, maybe, with both of your hands.

And page two, two questions. "In what ways can we improve the slide show?" The answer is unanimous. They want to retain it as it is, but if we could improve the sound.

Likewise, for the last item. I would like to say that the film, to me, was beautiful. And I think a lot of work and a lot of congratulations go to these hardworking people here. Because some of the terrains and some of the farms, I know personally. I haven't been there since I came back to Kona in 1968. So, to these people, terrific.

MK: Thank you, Mr. Bailado and the group out there. And the next group? Morris? I think we have couple more groups.

Morris Kimura: Then, I'm coming up too soon. I should be the last group here. Most of the people in my group, like myself, came in late and did not get to see, I think, more than half of the presentation. I think the only person that probably saw the entire presentation, Mr. Omori.

The answers to questions asked, I think, are very similar to most that were presented. Things like watching the slides helped us recall what earlier life in Kona was like. It brought back old memories. That life was very hard during the early years in Kona. It also brought to focus the rural isolation of people at that time.

"While viewing the slide show"--the second question--"what thoughts and feelings came to your mind." Mr. Omori recalls that the Filipino plantation strike helped Kona in a sense because many of the strikers moved to Kona, helping the Kona farmers who had needed labor help. For me in particular, viewing the slide presentation brought to focus the need for family unity and the help of the entire family working together in order to help the family survive. Someone brought up the fluctuating coffee prices which really beleagured most of the farmers in the early coffee years because they did not know whether they will end up with a profit at the end of the year or not. They were, I think, at the mercy of the fluctuating coffee prices. Another memory is the change of the Kona school schedule, which was brought about to help the many, many coffee growing families in Kona. The feeling expressed

was that possibly the change that came about then helped the coffee industry survive.

"In what ways can the slide show be improved?" Technically, we are not experts and we really cannot make any recommendation, except possibly, whether it was the hall or whether the sound system in itself could have been improved, but that. But in other ways, if we're speaking of the presentations in itself--now, some of these are my thoughts and I haven't seen the entire thing. I may be really way off base, but for what's it worth, things I would like to throw out for possible inclusion, if it was not included, some background in terms of the economic system in existence in early Kona. I recall, I think many, many families depended upon what we call a system by credit. Families owed the stores, the stores owed American Factors, etc., etc. And then, without this kind of system in existence, possibly, many, many families would have suffered terribly. That in itself, I think, we were prisoners in terms of that kind of economic system. Yet, it seemed, at that time, very, very necessary. I don't know whether some of these other things were covered. Certainly, early Kona must have been much more than just coffee. I can recall hearing stories about the early sugar plantation here in Kona. I do know the cattle industry was flourishing way back then as it does today. What were the other kinds--was fishing in itself a very important part of Kona? Weaving? I do know there's a huge orchard here in Kona. Heard about tobacco industry. What was the retail business like? I think these things may add. Also with other things that could be thought of and looked into, the cultural and religious activities of the various ethnic groups that made up early Kona. Those are some suggestions that we'd like to throw out.

And the last question, "In what ways can you help us improve the slide show?" Possibly, some of the people here can go back--and I think someone made this suggestion--go through old family albums to see if we can seek out old photos that might be of use to this particular study. And that's a lot from a few people who came in very late. Thank you.

MK: I think we're about ready to hear from Jerry's group? Jerry?

Jerry Shimoda: We had only four people in our group, two newcomers and two old-timers. So, I ran into trouble in the first question. When I said, "What did you learn from the slide show?" And they said, "Nothing." (Laughter) Which was not all the way true, because as we talked, they began to say it refreshed our minds--the work was hard and so on. And some of the other things that came out was that some individual families bought coffee. It wasn't only the big combines [mills] that did it. There was also much discussion in our group on how you roast

coffee and how you roast macadamia nuts, of all things.

And the second question, "While viewing the slide show, what thoughts and feelings came to your mind?" And other people mentioned hard living and coffee prices. And if you had to hire outside help, you know, it was hard to make money. And it still is. Just by looking at the trees, you can tell if the farm is being adequately fertilized. Today, there are no donkeys fertilizing the fields anymore. And one person said that the chemical fertilizer and mulch helped quite a bit. And he also said that's very good for marijuana, too. (Laughter) And one of our farmer friends said that acre for acre, coffee is better than macadamia nuts, but harder to work. They also talked about cutting back the coffee trees to make the foliage fuller. And then, also talked about taking off the parchment in the usu [mortar] and then sifting in the wind to let the parchment fly away.

Number three, "In what ways can the slide show be improved?" We felt that, perhaps, the timing of the text and the slide changes would be improved, synchronized better. And perhaps, some of the narrators could simplify their language so more people could understand what they're saying.

And "In what ways can you help us improve the slide show?" Well, the idea came out in our group that maybe we should show some of the things, like when you had to pick coffee in the rain and how you packed coffee on your backs, not only on the donkeys. Maybe those things should be brought out, too.

MK: Is there any other group out there who has not sent up a representative? Okay, if not, I'd like to call on John Reinecke, who spent couple years way back in the '20s here in Kona to give some commentary on the slide show and on your comments tonight. John?

John Reinecke (Humanities Scholar): I was very lucky to be in Kona in 1927 to '29, when the industry was flourishing, when the people were tremendously proud of it, and, unfortunately, they expected it to go on forever. When I left the industry nearly collapsed in '29. But when I asked my students to write compositions on anything that interested them, half of the compositions were on coffee raising. Throughout the compositions, there was a tremendous pride in the industry. They were absolutely sure that Kona coffee was the best in the world, and they were very crestfallen when they learned that Kona produced only 1/1000th of the coffee for the world's markets. I think that some of that pride and morale shows in the attendance tonight and in the creative as well as active interest in the history of Kona, which is built so largely around this industry. I don't think that I have anything to add to the comments which have been made, because when they are put together,

sifted through, I think that the slide show can be improved to meet the criticisms. But I think that, beyond the presentation of the slide show, we have to go on and get more material, not only on the technical side of one industry, but on the general history of a unique section of these islands. Thank you.

MK: Fred?

Fred Soriano (Resource Person, University of Hawaii at Hilo, Sociology Dept.): Before I go on to give you some comments on my reactions to the slide show, let me clear some things. First of all, when I was introduced as being from Kona, I am from Kona via the coffee industry. We grew up in Ka'u, but in 1958, as many of you recall, many plantation workers were getting laid off. My father, as a plantation worker in the Pahala Sugar Plantation, was worried that he'd lose his job. So, he thought that, well, if the Japanese and if the other Kona coffee farmers can survive independently, that he, too, can. So, he bought a coffee farm in Honomalino. And being raised in Kona was a weekend type of thing, because we used to get up early in the morning at 3 o'clock, pack up a Wylie's truck and go to our coffee farm in Kona and come back Sunday evening, and go to school during the rest of the week. So, I, too, threw fertilizers, and cut coffee trees, and had calluses in my. . . . I was a slow picker, but I had my share of Kona coffee labor.

First of all, what I'd like to comment strongly here is some of the reactions that some of you have had. One immediate reaction is this: that many of you Kona people had really not learned anything from the slide show. And that's natural. See, this oral history is not the oral history for you. This oral history is for people who are not from Kona. This is for the people of the State of Hawaii and people of the United States and the rest of the world. And I think if you get that sense, sure, you didn't learn anything because you were experts. You were the social historians. You were the ones that told the interviewers. You were the ones that told the researchers that this is Kona. This is why this is the unique program of the [Ethnic Studies] Oral History [Project] of the University of Hawaii. So, you didn't learn anything, because they got the information from you and all of your experiences and reactions were from Kona people. So, if you didn't learn anything, this is natural and this is the whole idea of it. But I think what you got or what you've been getting out of this experience here is what Dr. Reinecke has said, that Kona, sometimes or often, quite frequently in its history, come out as a community, come out as a group. It has its particular uniqueness. And in terms of some of the suggestions, the social aspect of Kona, I think this is one particular area of improvement that could be made and many of you have made this comment right here.

Before we get into that, let's take a look at the strong points of this presentation there. First of all, all of us can agree, as far as the economic picture of Kona, the economic factors, the economic changes, the presentation well covers the history of the Kona coffee industry. So, in terms of looking at Kona economically, in terms of economic factors, this is the very strong point. And to add on to this, some of the suggestions that you people made were that a little more of the technical side of the industry that involved the hard physical work and the very, very rugged terrain should be included, and I think the directors of . . .

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

Fred Soriano: . . . [The slide show should also depict] its social side or the social aspects of Kona--the lifestyle of the Kona people. It is highly appropriate and needed at this time if we are to title this project as a "Social History of Kona." The reason, other than economics, one of the reasons why people come to Kona and live in Kona, and develop and raise families in Kona, is because of the unique social conditions that are present here. I think, if you look back historically through hard times when the coffee prices dropped, when the coffee prices boomed, when there were turbulent changes throughout the economy of the State of Hawaii, somehow, Kona lingered on and survived. People pulled together. This, I think, perhaps, should be the additional thrust, in addition to the already solid economic picture that the presenters did put together. The unique lifestyles, the combination of, let's say, Kona coffee raising, fishing, and different forms of social activities are all important, and I think could be presented here.

Other than these few things that I've mentioned, the presentation, as far as what it did for me, it sort of brought back memories in that ten years ago, before I became a college professor, I was working here as a social worker. And I got to know a number of community people here, and I'm so happy to see them still around and healthy. And I see many old Kona people here who have lived through several changes--dramatic changes. For example, we have Mr. Tanouye here, who's about 88 years old. And we have another lady who's 90 years old. As I sit back as a sociologist and someone interested in social history, I look and I see these people have lived through four major transitions in terms of Hawaii's political changes. Mr. Tanouye had lived under the reign of Queen Liliuokalani, Sanford Dole, the territorial days, and lived to see George Ariyoshi become governor. So, perhaps some of these things can also be included

in the slide presentation. Without further ado, I would like to thank the committee for inviting me and I would like to thank the committee for giving me the privilege to speak with Dr. Reinecke, who's very well known in the field of race relations and within the state. Thank you very much.

MK: Right now, I'd like to ask if any of you have any questions or comments to address to either Dr. Reinecke or Dr. Soriano, if you do, we'd welcome you to do so. Any questions? Comments? Hannah?

Hannah Springer: One thing that we--after I had made the comments to the group--that we thought of was it didn't mention that the coffee schedule for the schools had been abandoned and now we're back on the conventional schedule.

MK: That's a good point. Thank you. Are there any other comments that you may want to make about the slide show?

Alfrieda Fujita: Frances Lincoln. . . . I think she had something [to say] that I forgot to mention.

MK: Okay. Mrs. Lincoln?

Frances Lincoln: When we reach my stage of age, some of the wheels inside this mind turn slowly. And so, as the evening went on and the papers were given, a couple of things came to mind that hadn't come before. Let me say, first, my experience with the coffee farmers. And I was only an observer through being a teacher in the public schools. In the public schools, we take all the children who come. We have no choice. We take them as they are. So, it gives us a very correct cross section of how the children of the community, how they grew, how they behaved, how they learned. Some of the people in my first class, at least one, are here tonight. But that's not what I'm here to talk about.

Myself, being raised on a farm, the corn farm and truck garden farm in the Middle West, was very familiar with the problems of the children. Our rapport was quite good underneath because I, too, had had my days of shyness and being afraid to meet people. In those days, there was much isolation on these farms. There was no movies, no library, no this, no that. People made their own amusements and they had time to think. If the coffee work was hard, it was of a type where the mind had a chance to go off on its own explorations and rompings into ideas. In that sense, I think, it made for a better type of student than the student who was brought up nowadays in an environment of machinery, artificial this, artificial that, an

engine for something else, a motor on almost everything, including a toothbrush, I believe. In that kind of environment that we are getting into, which is sometimes called progress but impresses me as progress to perdition more than progress for the human spirit. . . . You must watch your machine. You dare not take your mind off your machine. Something will happen to you, like the man who lost his wife under his own bulldozer.

But in the hand tool agriculture of those days, and they didn't expect anything else. That was traditional. The hands can do the things that they've been taught to do; the feet go where they have been taught to walk. But from here you were free to think at least. I found the students surprisingly mature compared with similar ages on the Mainland. And they grew to be what they had to do. There was no opportunity for mischief. They were busy from morning to night, even as my immigrant father from a poor family in Lincolnshire, England gave us no time for wickedness. There was no mischief, no stealing, no kolohe, because we were kept busy otherwise. He believed very strongly in the saying that the devil finds. . . . How is that now? Finds something for idle hands to do. But we didn't have any idle hands. The children, as a result, were serious students. I was pleased at this, that even though the farming child didn't have such a brilliant mechanism, they studied, they studied. And somehow, a few, a minority, who spoke English at home, "Oh, we don't have to study. We know English already." And so, they would end up at the end of the year--let's say, middle grades and up--where the one from the home where Japanese was the common language might get a better grade in my English class on the merits of his work, better grade than someone in whose home tradition they spoke English for 50 years sooner. Because the coffee children felt they had to study, and they did study, and were so sincere in all their ways.

I have heard people from Honolulu express a preference for their company to have employees, "Oh, can you send somebody"--even if it were just a girl to serve as a maid--"Could we have somebody from Kona?" During the war, there was an officer from Evanston, Illinois, wanted me to get him a Kona girl to stay in his home; he was so impressed with the seriousness, and responsibility, and just general niceness of the Kona students.

MK: I'd like to thank all of you tonight for sharing your thoughts and feelings about the slide show. And I'd like to tell you that on behalf of the staff, we'll sift through the comments made by the community and by the scholars, and we'll try to incorporate some of them in the slide show that will be again refined and elaborated on for showings in Kona and Honolulu in June.

And I'd also like to remind you that we'll be having some meetings in May in Kona and we'll welcome you to come again. I've noticed that each time I've come to Kona, people have been very friendly and there is a special sense of community here. And it comes out at meetings like this, where all of you can get together, sit at tables, talk with friends and neighbors and, sometimes, strangers, and help each other deal with problems, and issues, and topics.

A lot of you have made the suggestion that people go home and look at their old photo collections. We encourage you to do that. And if you do find photographs you want to share with us, please contact Rev. Shugen Komagata or Mrs. Komagata at the Daifukuji Mission at Honalo. Their number is 322-3524. The Reverend is a fine photographer and he'll take good care of it. He'll photocopy it and then return the original. If we use any of your photos, we'll credit you, so there'll be no misuse of your photographs.

Again, I'll like to thank the Komagatas, including their children who've helped in many little ways, their friends and neighbors who've shared rides so that other friends and neighbors could make it here tonight, and of course all of you who took the time to come to the slide show and to discuss your feelings about it, and of course to our scholars, Fred Soriano and John Reinecke, and Mrs. Aiko Reinecke who came to Kona after so many years. So, thank you very much, and we'd appreciate it if you could fill out evaluation forms. We're funded in part by the Hawaii Committee for Humanities, and for them and for our purposes to improve our meetings, we ask that you fill out the evaluation sheets and leave them on the back table near the door or with Mrs. Komagata as you leave the hall tonight. And again, thank you so much for giving so much of your time. The next meeting. I've forgotten the date, but it's a Thursday night and it's at Daifukuji Soto Mission. There are posters posted all over Kailua and ma uka Kona, and we'll have more publicity, so we ask that you keep your eyes out for publicity.

END OF MEETING

KONA COMMUNITY MEETING #3

Daifukuji Soto Mission, Honalo, Kona

May 21, 1981

Faye Komagata: [We've learned a lot from the interviewees and hope] that all of you will feel that this project that we're working on will have helped you also as it has helped all of us here. Thank you.

Michiko Kodama(MK): And tonight, what we'd like you folks to do is to look at the quotes or sections of interviews that we've taken out of the larger interviews and have you react to them. Tell us what you feel and think as you read what your neighbors and relatives have said. They shared so much with us and now we'd like to share what we got from them with the rest of you. And so during the next 40 minutes or so, 40-50 minutes, we'd like you to sit in your little groups as you are right now and start reading the quotes together and talking about them. And after that is done, we're going to ask each of the group leaders to come up here and report to the large group what's been said. And each of the groups have different packages of quotes, so hopefully we'll get a different reaction from each group. So, if you like, you can sort of look at your quotes from now. Also, as a reward of sorts, we will have a break before the large group reports.

(Small group discussion.)

Alfrieda Fujita: And good evening, everybody. I belong to the group there with Sherwood, and Mrs. Ikeda, and some other younger people there. And we had a very good discussion. And of course, I understand that everybody was given a document [interview excerpts]. I must say that the document that we have here, the interviews, we'd like to just run over the importance of the interviews.

We felt that, one, the mention about the kumiai [was important]. And to some of you who do not understand what the kumiais are, it's truly, we feel, and as Sherwood says, he truly feels it's part of Kona. It's the spirit of Kona. People helping people. We feel that this should really be preserved in Kona. It brought about strong ties with the community, and with your family members, and also friends. Now, I can see where about 30 years ago or even 40 years ago, when someone has a wedding, they are not able to call the hotel as they do today. And so, the kumiais got together, and usually the menfolks do all the formalities--you know, the planning of the formalities. The bride, the groom, and who should sit where, and who should give the main speeches and so forth. The ladies were always in the kitchen, cooking for two, three days. And they were not even allowed to sit with the menfolks. And the children, of course, were cast away, you know, to do errands. And we were not able to even see the bride sometimes, just the glimpse

of the bride, you know, going through the coffee fields or going into a car. But the kumiais always helped the families together in time of emergency. And we feel that this is a very important part of our life, and I think it should be continued, it should be preserved.

Secondly, the interview here said about how they struggled to borrow money for survival. We felt that they had a mutual obligation. We call it the "on" in the Japanese family. This is, for instance, I've asked Mr. Greenwell [for help]. I'm having a very hard time and I need to have, maybe, a bag of rice for my family and I'm not able to pay for it. So, he probably will loan me a x number of dollars with my word of mouth that I will repay him, whether I repay him with labor or with money when I sell my coffee. But many of the merchants during those days--especially I remember my grandfather [a storekeeper in Hōlualoa] had a big coffee field, and then, of course, they had to borrow from the American Factors. And the way they did that was by their word of mouth, their loyalty and trust to American Factors. At the end of the crop, they would take everything down to Amfac. I remember, as I grew up, I used to tell my grandfather, "Mr. so-and-so or this company buys the coffee three cents higher and Amfac is paying you three cents lower and why don't you sell your coffee there?" Oh, no, they wouldn't do that. They were so loyal. They had respect for Amfac for loaning their merchandise to the store. And it continued that way. And this was part of their survival. Today, we do not do things that way, but I wish many of us in our daily lives will be just as loyal. You know, have trust in, be very honest with our obligations.

The third important thing mentioned in this interview here was the shūshin. And they mentioned shūshin, and to some of us, we may not quite understand that. Mrs. Ikeda, and I, and Sherwood have been talking about this. Mrs. Ikeda remembers this as she was going to school, how we used to have shūshin classes. And I did [attend classes] for a while. It is morality. It's respect for elders, respect for your teachers, respect for someone higher--your mothers or your older sisters and brothers. Today, we are losing that, we see. And we laughed about it, too, because we say, well, for instance, wives to husbands. (Chuckles) And of course, today, with equal rights, you know, we say we have just as much right as the menfolks. But it mentioned about shūshin, and we thought that was very important. It should be mentioned, that some of us should not forget that. In our school system and everything else, you have to have respect.

And they also mentioned how they felt it was important to own their property, their own coffee field. And it was a struggle for them, but they did try to own their properties. And it gave them a sense of freedom. They also mentioned that, way back, the difference between the coffee life and the plantation life. And I think, you understand, as many of us live on coffee farms, we have the sense of freedom. And it says here, "In the plantation, you did not have

the sense of freedom because you always have to listen to your bosses. Your life was more or less done according to the plantation manager or the bosses. Here in Kona, although your land were leased, you had your freedom. You were your own bosses." And I think this is very important. I think, today, truly, you find that Kona is very independent, and I think some of the politicians find this--that Kona is still very independent because of all this.

Last of all, it mentions about education, how the families helped one another. And usually, the oldest of the family stayed back to help so that the younger ones could go to school. And I think, the families then realized how important it is to have education during those days. Today, we just take things for granted. But there, it was very important. They wanted everyone to go to school to have better education. For some of those that couldn't, they had to work. And they all helped each other. If the oldest wasn't able to go to school, the older helped the younger ones. And it went down in steps.

Mrs. Helen Weeks mentioned that there was not a thing mentioned about tanomoshi, when it came to the financial part of the families. I don't know whether we should mention it now or [if] somebody else has mentioned it, but if it's not, then I think it should be mentioned also, because that played a important part, especially to the business menfolks. And I think Mr. Tanouye could very well explain that and Mr. . . . I keep forgetting this nice gentlemen's name here. Next to Mr. Sasaki. Tanima-san, yes. And I think they could explain to you. If you have seen the television ad, the Honolulu Federal [City Bank], where they have this ad about tanomoshi, it was a borrowing system where all the people got together and they bid the highest. The highest bidder always borrowed the money and would return it back. And so, I think the tanomoshi should also be mentioned in this interview here.

So, it all goes back to loyalty, basically, having a very strong family together, helping each other. And it continues on through the family and into the community. Thank you.

MK: Alfrieda, thank you so much for all your comments. And for the next group, we'll have Mildred Oshima come up and give us a little summary of what was discussed in her group.

Mildred Oshima: I think most of the things that was discussed was exactly like what Alfrieda had discussed in their group. The first one was the kumiai. And kumiai was very important before, but it is just as much needed right here now.

Talking about picking coffee after or before going to school, they [discussion group members] said they didn't pick just one basket, but they'd pick about a [100-pound] bag. And when they came back from school, they picked one bag or until it was dark. Before, children worked even harder than they do now. Nowdays, I think the

children are little bit lax. And they said the children had to work hard because they have to eat. If they don't work hard, they won't have any food. Another comment that our group made was that the boys usually used to pick more coffee, and the girls did all the household chores. During 1916, one bag of cherry coffee was only 75 cents. I don't know how much it is now, but that's how the coffee was.

Okay, now, going back to buying the land, most of them wanted to buy land because they were on lease land and it was from the Bishop Estate or some other people. I'm not too familiar with Kona because I wasn't born in Kona, but they said they didn't have any money to buy land. That's the reason why most of them stayed on lease land. But as they have gained their riches, they started to buy their land. Most of them didn't even have $100 in their household during that time. I'm sure, nowdays, you know, everybody has more than that--in your bag right now, maybe (chuckles). And after buying the land, they had more confidence in farming because they know that it is their land. And as they improve their land and if their crops get better, they know that they will do better in farming.

There were some discussion on borrowing money from American Factors. Our group thought that most of the stores, the business people, were borrowing money from American Factors. And they asked to receive about 8 percent discount from American Factors. And what it said on this paper [interview excerpt] was, "So we didn't owe them anything." And I don't think it was quite right [i.e., accurate]. They didn't ask for the entire debt of their owing [i.e., cancellation of their entire debt], but they would like to have at least 8 percent discount, so as they gained more [income] they would pay them back.

Now, about the shūshin, like Alfrieda had said, most of us did agree that before--that was before the war [World War II]--we had Japanese school, and we did have a moral class called shūshin. And that is to respect your parents, respect your friends, and respect your brothers and sisters, and to help each other. We are not saying that all of us here now don't have any morals. We do have, but I think it is not stressed enough. So, we think that shūshin is very important.

And the schooling is exactly what Alfrieda had said--that education is important. And if the first boy cannot go to school, he will work and he will send his brother or sister for higher education.

The last one was about the theater. As it says here, that when the rains came they all had to leave because they were having this shibai, that's a play, under a tent. So, when the rains came, it had the side rain, and they had to leave the theater. There was another funny remark. In Kealakekua, they said it wasn't under the tent, so they weren't rained out. But they couldn't hear the shibai because of the donkey's cry. They said one donkey started

to cry, and all the rest of the donkeys would start heehawing, and they couldn't hear the shibai so they all had to leave. (Chuckles)

I think that was about it. Thank you.

MK: Okay, we've heard comments from two groups that looked at some interview information from Japanese interviewees. Now I'd like to ask Modesto Daranciang to give us some feelings as to what the Filipino interviewees in this project have said and felt.

Modesto Daranciang: Commenting on the different quotes we come across, I don't know, maybe our group were asking if your questions or your quotes are different from others. But I said I have no idea, but probably, they are different.

On the first quotes here, they mentioned about the hardships of life during coffee work. But it stresses, it says, their discipline and hard work in order for the family to survive.

The next one says here that money was so scarce, coffee did not bring enough money, so they said they have to look for employment to supplement their coffee money or coffee income.

In another quote here, they commented that coffee gives them the freedom which other types of work did not offer. Because most of our Filipinos, although they were the last to come to work for coffee--the Japanese came first and others--they said they were all from plantations, some were cowboys. And they said that it's only coffee that offers them the freedom to work as they wish. There was no boss behind their back, nobody to force them. And they said they would like coffee rather than work for other types of work.

Another comment here is, given a choice of different jobs, going back to the different jobs they have been engaged like doing some cowboy job, working for somebody, yardman, or working for the plantation, they said that, "I would settle for working on my own coffee. I am my own boss and nobody boss me around."

The Filipinos have three established holidays among themselves. I use the word "established" because they do it on their own. They are Christmas, they have New Year, and they had Rizal Day. To them, Rizal Day is very important in their lives because, for one thing, it is honoring their own hero. Like you folks have your own hero. But aside from honoring their own hero, it will be an added day of holiday. And they should all congregate or come to a certain place where they have to celebrate by eating all the different foods that they can prepare. There are all ethnic foods. And accompanied with eating is dancing or doing their things just to enjoy the holiday.

Also, ingrained among Filipinos is organizations. Filipinos have so many organizations, even only in Kona. We are a type of people

that cannot be under one boss. Everybody want to be boss. That's the reason why there are so many organizations. (Laughter) But having so many organizations itself have so many benefits because, as I said, the Filipinos are good. They want their fun, and it will add up to more times of happiness. Moving to another party is one group of fun, so you expecting another time to go to another organization who will have their fun and you invited.

One of the favorite pastime of Filipinos is chicken fight. Well, Filipinos, you only know about three types of Filipinos in Hawaii--I mean, three ethnic Filipinos. You have the Ilocano, you have the Visayan, and you have the Tagalog. In one of the quotes here, they were blaming the Ilocanos for the chicken fight. And the others [in the discussion group] said don't blame the Ilocanos only for the chicken fight. Because, right now, you can go there and you can find more Chinese and Japanese in chicken fights. (Laughter) Also, chicken fight is one of the pastime it says here, they have chicken fight, but since you have to survive, they used to work before recreation.

There's a part here which says during the earlier part of the coffee planting, there's a time when Filipinos come together, especially the neighbors, to come and share in the planting of their coffee. I don't know if the Japanese do it also. So, if this guy plants coffee today, everybody go out and help him plant his farm.

Like any Orientals, the Filipinos are fond of eating vegetables. And everybody knows now that vegetables sometimes is more expensive than meat. So, others who have a certain kind of vegetable seed or plant, they share it with the others or they exchanged in order to have more variety of vegetables in their garden for their kitchen.

Most of the Filipinos, when they came to Hawaii, they were contracted laborers. So, they promised their families, their wives [to return and] said, "I'm going to Hawaii. I'll be back in three years." But some never go back. And even when they were holding coffee leases, they had chances to buy their own land. Some of them still say that, "Why should I buy a piece of land when I don't have my families to inherit the coffee farm that I am buying?"--which is counting against him now or counting against us, because we do not inherit any piece of land from our grandfathers or from our forebears.

In the last part here, it pictures a Filipino as [doing] some of what these hippies have been doing. Some of them have been so lazy. I think some other people also have a group who depends upon people for support, like one guy said, "I don't plant any fruit because I hang around there, I go there, and I always have fruit for myself." I don't know how this comment came about, but I should say that the Filipinos are fond of planting their own vegetables or their own farm. But how this came out, I don't know. But in any ethnic group, I go again, there are always people who really

[are not] dependable people. As I said at the earlier part, they [some people] plant so they can share with somebody and what you don't have, the others share with them so they can have a variety of plants in their farm. Because during the years, people really cannot depend only on coffee. They have to diversify their plantings, diversify their garden vegetables. So, again, I said, this is one thing that came out that I don't believe it should have been.

MK: Next, could we have Mr. Takashiba give a little report on what was said? Mr. Takashiba is sort of representing the Captain Cook group, including Mr. Tanouye.

Yoshitaka Takashiba: Good evening, everybody. I think, tonight, I feel that if you was the first, you were in better position because all the first speaker and second speaker told almost everything that we should know about that. (Laughter) So, my comment, I'll make it very brief. Most of the comment, you already heard about it. But one of the questions that was raised by one of that reporters [group leaders] here was that if there will be a coffee in the future. And this was briefly discussed within our table. We felt that as long as the coffee-picking price matches the other income from other source, like hotel or other business, then this coffee will not get out of existence. But if the coffee-picking price or the coffee price is lower than what the income that we derive from the other source, then I think the coffee business will not get out of existence but the crop will really come to a very small quantity. Thank you.

MK: I think, next, we can have Jerry Shimoda of the group in the back there.

Jerry Shimoda: Well, good evening. I hope everybody enjoyed the good Kona coffee. Those of you who were here the last time, I guess, have remembered that. I had a very interesting group of young ladies--lovely ladies in the center table there. I was the only thorn in the rosebush, so it was kind of a delightful evening for me. (Laughter) I can say that because my wife is on Oahu. (Laughter)

My group was divided into two. I had the Hawaiian statements and the haole statements. And first, the comment on the Hawaiian statement. Nina Kālaiwa'a said "It sounds like I made some of the statements myself." And she did. She was one of the interviewees. And as far as the Hawaiians planting taro and fishing was concerned, the members of the group agreed that it was kind of a simple way of life. But some of them wondered if the diet was sufficient--you know, the diet of fishing and taro. And someone else reminded us that taro is a vegetable. And also, the comments drifted into the use of donkeys, and horses, and mules before the advent of the jeep. And the Hawaiian way of life showed a good communal way of living and it was quite a difference from today. It was also brought out that in fishing, the 'ōpelu was fed to keep them in one spot and to keep them tame. And then, every so often, you went out

and caught the 'ōpelu with the net. And today, I understand, there's more hand lining than net fishing. And someone said it was hard to believe that the 'ōpelu was fed. And it's true, they were. But they were fed not to fatten them up but to keep them in place. And what they fed them were taro, and pumpkin, and so on. And the lifestyle of the Hawaiian was one of self-sufficiency and it was not to make money but to live. And sometimes, they had occasional exchange or bartering between the ma uka and ma kai people. And Nina said this was a long time ago.

And we also talked a little bit about Kauwe, who was a teacher down in Hookena, I believe. He was known for his sternness and the fact that he was a good teacher. And the group agreed that they learned a lot in those days. But I don't know because I'm not that old. It was agreed that in those days, I guess, the kids were afraid of the teachers. And then, sometimes, it said the teachers used to hit the kids with the coconut broom. And if you know, you've been hit with a coconut broom, you know what it's like. They said that the children listened more in those days. One person said, "That's alien to me because I was brought up by very gentle parents." Even in those days, the parents and teachers were hard, but they meant well. They did things for the children's benefit.

And then, there was talk about electioneering, about how Hawaiian music and dancing was used in campaigning. The group agreed that they'd rather like this type of in-person electioneering better than what you see on TV today. And they also agreed that the rich American diet does cause all kinds of illnesses today, especially the eating of a lot of meat. It should be a balanced diet. And they kind of thought that the simple life kept you from getting ill. And at this point, I protested and I said, "You mean, you're telling me that everything in the old days is good, everything today is bad." Of course, I got beat down for that. And life in those days, they thought, was very sensible. It was a very healthy way of living. They even took siestas like the Mexicans do today. And we can't do it these days. Maybe we won't do it these days. That's why people have heart attacks.

And the other comments had to do with the haole comment [interview excerpts]. And it said the life on the coffee farm was rough. And then, there were times when the immigrants felt they were entrapped. And they tried to save their money, but there never seemed to be enough money to get back home, you know, to go back home to their country. And, actually, many people who came to Kona tried and did escape from the plantations to make a better life for themselves. But because of the way they were brought up, they did well and they wanted to do well so they could come back. And with reference to the management, one lady in our group said that her mother told her that there was a picture of the plantation manager's home in Pahala, and underneath, someone had written "the Imperial Palace."

And we talked also about people who are raising coffee today.

Someone said, "I can write an essay on that." But we didn't. In those days, even today, the coffee work is hard, so the kids want to get into the store or bank, which was true before and partly true today. It was the sternness of the experience on the farm. And children were looked upon as assets as far as coffee farming was concerned. But, you know, the parents probably gave the children a better life than they had. I think this is something the children are forgetting. And their life was stern, and parents were firm and they expected instantaneous obedience. And, you know, this is similar to what happened to children in other parts of the world as the country progressed. And even in other countries, various groups were imported to work on the farms. And today, you have kids from urban families going into farms. For example, here in Kona, kids are coming from the Mainland, from the cities such as Los Angeles, and moving onto the farms. So, there seems to be kind of a reverse trend, even though some of them are engaged in a little pakalōlō activity.

And then, there was also a statement made here that if someone applying for a job came from Kona, he was considered a good worker. And someone said, yeah, that's quite true, that the kids learned to work in the old days when they grew up here. One of the group members said that someone from Evanston wrote and said, "Can't you send me a Kona girl because they're more serious and more responsible." So, that's quite a credit. And then, the kids in the old days went to school and when they came home, they went right to work. Those who left the farms did not want to come back as failures. So, study was also emphasized so that you would amount to something. But someone else pointed out that there were parents, however, who didn't want the kids to go to school so that they would stay at the farm and help.

And then, some discussion was held on the coffee land leases. And someone asked me, "Have you ever read a coffee land lease?" And I said, "No, too young." And she said, "I did. I know why they let things run down in the old days on the coffee farm." Because the first year, the lease was five dollars. You were clearing the land. The second year, you were still clearing the land and the lease payment was $15. And then, by the time the tenant planted the coffee, the rent was pretty high. And then, you weren't allowed to keep a cow on the land, I understand. And leases ran about 20 years. And when the lease ended, the farmer couldn't get anything for the investment. So, you couldn't blame them for letting the things run down, if they did. Today, the lease is you pay a percentage of your profit off the top also.

And in the old days, things were friendly in Kainaliu, they said. But where are the benches? In Kona, every store had a bench or benches. And what's happened to the aloha spirit? Things are more impersonal now. And someone said that it would be a big improvement if we get the benches back, and someday she's going to sell produce and have benches in front of her store.

And then, there was also some talk about the movie houses. Someone said the Japanese movies were silent movies with a narrator on the side, and she liked to go to them because they were the only ones who had Flash Gordon movies. (Laughter) Okay.

MK: We've been having a good deal of really good comments, but we've been noticing that time is going to be running kind of short, so we'll have to ask the other groups to, you know, keep it a little bit shorter. And I guess the next group we can ask to come up could be---how about someone from the Okano/Sakata table way in the back there? Mr. Okano, I guess you got the job.

Herbert Okano: Finally I inherited it. I'll try to make it as brief as possible since time is getting short. I see it's 9 o'clock or so. But regarding the obligation, the debt payment and all that, in those earlier days, they did not have any contracts as we do today and everything was based on a honor system. Whenever I borrowed money from Norman Sakata, if I died before I had my obligations paid, my children were supposed to pay Norman whatever, you know, I failed to pay him. So, it was an honor system, unwritten, and it was an obligation that we, as individuals, wanted to do because we had a little pride in ourselves. And another thing regarding the debt settlement. The coffee industry was saved, according to Mr. Fukunaga, due to the settlement they had between the American Factors and the Kona coffee farmers in about 1940. Millions of dollars worth of debts were pardoned by American Factors. They say that coffee is always good on a 20-year cycle. Only the determined and self-reliant farmers who stuck to it in the good periods as well as during the bad periods profited most and who had a headstart over the others. Many new farmers tried to come into farming in about [the] early 1950s or so since the price had gone up, and many of them lost their pants rather than made any money. The investment they put in over Honomalino way was never returned. But those who persisted and consistently hung into it, in lean as well as good years, had profited quite somewhat.

Okay, and also in 1950 or so, farmers were encouraged to diversify outside of the coffee industry since they were having a very difficult time making a living. However, many of the diehards, said that, "My parents planted this coffee and had survived through all these years, and had raised five or six kids with it, we're not going to abandon the fields and we're not going to diversify." And in fact, Eddie [Fukunaga, retired superintendent of the Kona Agricultural Experiment Station] had mentioned that there was a group that tried to get him out of Kona because he had advocated and pushed macadamia nuts and to diversify. And it was a rather sad incident, I guess, but they were not successful.

Regarding the spirit of cooperation, many times when the farmers had to fertilize their field, the fertilizer was left on the roadside. The farmer had to carry the fertilizer on the donkey, two or three bags per load, and carry it all the way up the hill or a mile down

the hill or whatever. And it was a big project only for one family to handle the job. So, the neighbors came along, helped them carry the fertilizer, and helped them spread the fertilizer in the fields. It was a very warm type of cooperation. A spirit of cooperation existed, and it lightened the burden of these rigorous farm life. Also, at the end of the day, after everybody had cleaned up, they would, you know, play cards, drink a little sake, and have some fine foods. So, at the end of the day, it was like a social event also.

Then kumiai. This is another area that Alfrieda and all these others had elaborated [on] very well. But our group came out with something along the same interpretation. Kumiai was the center of each neighborhood, considered as a very integral and important part of the community, especially during emergencies such as deaths, weddings, and fire, and so forth. It was a mutual aid organization. Since in those days, they did not have telephones, the best way to get the message across was through the kumiai or kumi chōs, and they get the message across and through. And dōmeikai was another terminology used here, which is not quite a kumiai but it was a bargaining unit of the farmers, negotiating for better coffee prices. But usually, this negotiation took place between the farmers, Captain Cook Coffee Company, or with the American Factors. They made a little headway, a union.

Now, this is something funny over here. This is the first time we've heard of this remark. "On New Year's morning, the girls had to take a bath first thing in the morning. The girls could not go out into the community for three days. They were not supposed to be seen by males." So, the comment that came out of this [discussion] group was, "First thing we heard of such a thing." It sort of was shocking I guess to many of us. The three-day tabu for girls, one of the ladies over there had explained to us that probably was enforced when a family had a housewife or someone who was pregnant. You know, it was a belief that the first visitor, if the visitor was a man, the baby's going to be a boy, male. And if a lady visitor came, then the baby was going to be a girl, that kind of belief. So, they tried to get the girls to stay home because . . . [the family expecting a baby, may have preferred having a boy baby.]

END OF TAPE NO. 1

TAPE NO. 2; SIDE ONE

HO: [HO speaks in reference to shūshin.] . . . the terminology that would jive with any of the American meaning would be the moral, and spiritual, and ethical values, perhaps, which were being taught at home from infancy, childhood and throughout youth. It was a valuable course, sometimes considered much more valuable than the subject matter in itself, because respect, obligation, responsibility, and

all these things played a very integral part in a Oriental family, especially among the Japanese. That's the end.

MK: Mr. Okano, thank you very much. And I think we've got just two more groups, so if we could have, again, just highlights and summaries. I think we have a doctor who'll be reporting for one group there? A doctor or someone from that table--the middle table. (Pause) Anyone from that group. And then after the doctor, we'll have Mrs. Horiuchi, and that will be the end of the group reports.

Dr. Dick Pekala: We at first thought it'd be a little more authentic to get someone from Kona to do this, but I guess I've been elected. Some of the comments on the part about independent people who came to the islands. Seems that a lot of people came here originally with independence in mind and became indebted to the system through the purchasing of things at the company store, living on the land; and really could never escape or could live out their fantasies of independence. Seems like the first generation of people that came here thought of making enough money to go back to Japan. But [they] could never really fulfill that, became attached to the land and [fell] in such debt, with the thought that maybe someday they could purchase their land. But [they] never really had that as a reality because of the lack of money being around. It wasn't until, apparently, 1930s when an act was enacted in Congress that the money became available, but then there was no land to buy because it was individual private landowners who were leasing it out and it was only a few landowners here and there that would make the leases available for fee simple purchase. Again, the people would go into debts for 40 years or so.

There was general agreement at our table that all the boys from Kona were good workers and could travel just about anywhere in the islands and find a job---people didn't even seem to ask what their past history was, [nothing] other than the fact that they were from Kona seemed to matter. And they could certainly beat out Hana boys, I understand.

The part about the elderly people still working coffee. It seems that a lot of them are doing it now because coffee's commanding a higher price than in the past, and people who have retired now can go back out into the coffee farms and seem to make ends meet. Because Uncle Sam's taking a bigger bite, Social Security's not paying what it used to, so they're getting out there. Apparently it's hard to get the young people to do it, though, because of more lucrative wages in the city. That's it.

MK: Okay, Mrs. Horiuchi, can we ask you to come up now?

Harriet Horiuchi: Well, I don't have much to report. I mean, I don't have much to say that hasn't been said already. One of the ladies on our table said that she belonged to the Captain Cook farm [i.e., leased coffee lands from Captain Cook Coffee Company]. What they

could do was charge their whole year's food bill and their whatever she needed to make a living for the whole year. And every time she went to the store, she would go to the Captain Cook store, and then she would just charge it on this charge book. And at the end of the year, from whatever coffee that she produced, the company would deduct the bill, take out for the bill, and then give her whatever is left. And the amount that's usually left is very, very small. So the following year, the same thing happens again.

For this comment [interview excerpt] on the lot of work that's involved in the coffee farms, in the olden days the farmers didn't use much poison in the fields. They did hō hana. They used hoe and their arm. So after the harvest was done, they had to prune the trees, and they have to hō hana, then they had to fertilize the fields, then they more hō hana. They would plant their own vegetables and fruits to keep their costs down. So their work was endless. They always had something to do in the fields. And the ladies had to take care at home, doing some sewing and getting the children to school.

And for education, the Japanese parents are very much education-minded. They like to educate their children, but because of the short[age] of funds, they didn't have enough money, lot of them had to make their daughters quit school early and go to work or help at home on the farm so that their sons could go to school. Very few of the Japanese boys, in fact, and girls finished high school in those days. Most of the girls had to quit school at fifth and sixth grade and had to go to work, whatever work was available. And if there wasn't any job outside, they worked at home. And the girls went to sewing school to learn how to make kimonos, and dresses, and trousers.

That's about all I got. The rest of the interview was already said [i.e., discussed]. Thank you.

MK: Thank you, Mrs. Horiuchi. And now, we'll go on to our humanities scholars' commentary. Again, we have Steve Boggs, who was here at our first meeting and John Reinecke, who was here last time. So, Steve?

Steve Boggs: Well, I want to thank you all for coming tonight. As I told one of our visitors here tonight, we've really been conducting an experiment with this project. I don't know of any study done anywhere in the country where the people who have been interviewed have been the ones who were asked to make their own interpretations of the importance of the information that they've provided. Usually experts such as myself read the information that people give in their interviews, and then we decide from what they have put down what is important to them, how they feel about it, what meanings that this information has for them. And tonight, we have carried out an experiment to see if by bringing this information back to you, giving you the quotes that people themselves told us or our

interviewers, that you could tell us which of those things were important, why they were important, and what meaning they had. And I think from having listened to you tonight that the experiment is a very, very promising one, and we'll be listening with our inner mind to the comments as we tape them tonight and as we prepare our final report.

Because it's late and I don't want to keep you very long, I think I will focus on only one theme that came very prominently through the interviews that I read and which has been mentioned here several times tonight. And that is the theme of hard work and what it meant. I think there are several things about this that deserve to be pointed out. In the first place, a lot of you said and went into great detail in your interviews--less was said here tonight in the reports, but I'm sure many of you talked about it at the tables--as to what an insecure or unpredictable life it was to be here early, growing coffee. Coffee prices, coffee harvests, other sources of income were all unpredictable. And in the face of that kind of insecurity, people had to assume, as was mentioned often here tonight, a very great deal of debt. And not only that, but the Japanese especially came from a culture where, as we've heard tonight, it was only right and honorable to settle up your debts at the end of each year. Now, this combination of being in debt and being faced with the uncertainty of being able to pay that debt back must have meant that life--and here I'm being the expert, interpreting to you--that life had a lot of anxiety to it much of the time or would have had a lot of anxiety to it if it weren't for the fact that you could rely upon certain things. And one of those things, I think, people relied upon was hard work. That's why I think [it is] one of the reasons why, we hear so much about and have heard so much here in Kona about hard work. It was one of those things that people had under their control. You could do something about that. You could get up in the morning and work all day, and work all night, and feel that by that, you were holding back the insecurity and the unpredictability of having to face debts that might remain unpaid. So, I think that's one theme that may very well be supported by what was said here tonight as well as by the information.

The other thing that I think goes with hard work that I've been very much impressed with is the fact that it [i.e., hard work] went with opportunity. Yesterday we were talking to one of our interviewees who wasn't able to come tonight. He was telling us about "how easy life [is] in Kona." And then, we said, well now, you know, "When did you start picking coffee?" Each day, you know, during coffee harvest. [He said,] "Well, as soon as the light, as soon as you could see the berries." Pick maybe how many bags? [He said,] "Five, six bags in a day. Come home." Then what [do] you do? After you come home, you start pulping the coffee, stay up maybe 12, 2 o'clock in the morning. And then we said, "That's easy life? How is that easy life?" But this man had come from the plantation to Kona. His answer to that was, "Ah, but I keep all the profit." (Laughter)

That, plus the fact that he didn't have to go to work when somebody told him to go to work. He was going to work when he wanted to go to work. And if he wanted to sleep during the day, he could sleep and then go on working after that. That hard work was--and several people have made this comment that I've overheard, too--work was more easy in Kona than it was in the plantation because it was work that meant opportunity. Even though life was unpredictable, there was still opportunity at the end of it.

And I think that leads me to the last point that I want to make that that work may not have meant the same thing to the second generation that it meant to the first generation. To the first generation, it was an absolute necessity. It was something that you needed to stave off something even worse than hard work. It was something that was absolutely necessary for you to be able to feed your family. For the next generation, work was something you did because your parents told you that it had to be done. And for many of them, as we said in one of these quotes, "We sometimes felt like we were dragged to work." Now, as pointed out here tonight, it was a necessity. And children had to learn that necessity. But it still was not the same meaning that it had for the first generation who had all the responsibility or felt they had all of the responsibility on their shoulders.

I think that I'll just close by saying one thing: that a lot of the things that people find important--and this is the more general point that I want to make--a lot of the things that people find important are things that they turn to, to see them through hard times. That's what I think work meant for the first generation in Hawaii--something they turned to, to see them through hard times. And I want to quote from one of our interviewees who said this about work on the plantation, but I think it applied equally to her work in Hawaii. She was asked by the interviewer how she felt about that hō hana work that she did on the plantation when she was in her teens. And she said, and I quote, "I feel like crying, but was forced to work because that's what we came here for. Our back were sore. The hō hana was hard. I cried, but there was nothing I could do. All kind of work, we have to be patient. We needed money, so we have to sacrifice." That sense of sacrifice, of shikata ga nai [i.e., the sense of having to do something because there is no other recourse], you know, that's what makes life worthwhile. And while it made life worthwhile for the first generation and perhaps for some of the second who grew up under the same circumstances, it's a meaning of life that is passing us by. And it's no longer, I think, here. We didn't talk as much about that tonight, but maybe that's something we have to talk about some other night.

MK: John, can we have you come up here for your commentary?

John Reinecke: I'd like to raise the question, where do we go from here? Within a few months, we'll have this written up, all the interviews

will be in bound book form in the libraries where you can read them, where the public can read them. But how are we going to pass them on to the next generation and what do we want to pass on to the next generation? What are the important points that you want to have the younger generation brought up in Kona and the newcomers to Kona know about the old life and how it can be tied into the new Kona. We now have in Kona about three times as many people as there were 10 years ago. And, of course, almost all of the newcomers are from other parts of the islands or even from the Mainland. What will they learn about Kona as it was in your time and in your children's time even, at present? And I think we've only begun to scratch the surface, and there is still a lot to be done. Fortunately, we can look forward to having a historical museum here, thanks largely to Mr. [Sherwood R.H.] Greenwell's initiative. We can look forward to having encouragement from the Kona Historical Society, which I understand is a large and active organization. But we will need more input, I think, from you and people of your generation and the generation next after. I'm one of the makules. Not the most makule but still pretty makule. The people who are now middle-aged and below middle-aged and who still have participated in the traditional Kona that was based pretty much on coffee. Not a 100 percent, but coffee was the unifying force. What will be the unifying force in the future? And what is there in the old Kona that hasn't been touched on fully in these interviews? What about the interaction of the various ethnic groups? What did the Hawaiians pass on to the Japanese, what did the Japanese pass on to the Hawaiians? What did the haoles, the Portuguese, and the Filipinos pass on to the other groups? And what did they get from the other groups? How did the different ways of life blend into a way of life that was not Japanese, it was not Hawaiian, it was not haole, it was not Filipino, it was the Kona variety of Hawaiian--new Hawaiian life. We still have to learn a lot about that and think a lot about that, and I hope, have more interviews, and come to understand even more about what is our life and what our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren will learn about how we lived.

MK: Well, I thank all of you for coming tonight and being so patient and so generous with your time and your thoughts throughout tonight and the whole project. And as you leave tonight, we ask that you leave the papers with any comments you may want to share with us. We also asked you to fill out some evaluation forms. If you filled them out, again, leave them with us at that little table near the door. And again, thank you so much for staying up so late. And I'd like to thank the Daifukuji, the Reverend and Mrs. Komagata, who lent us the hall tonight and who have helped us in so many ways. And I'd also like to thank the women of the [Daifukuji] Fujinkai over here who have helped us. And I'd like to say that we invite you again to come and see a slide show and a discussion in June. It's again going to be on a Thursday night, and it will be a finalized version of the slide show you saw during the last meeting. So, please come to our slide show. You'll be reading a lot about it in

the newspapers in the next two, three weeks. And it'll be at Yano Hall, so please don't come here. Go straight to Yano Hall. Good night and thank you again.

END OF TAPE

COMMUNITY MEETING #4

Yano Hall, Captain Cook, Kona

June 25, 1981

Warren Nishimoto: Kona community meeting no. 4, at Yano Hall, Captain Cook, Kona, Hawaii.

Afrieda Fujita: (Meeting in progress) . . . in my time, it was really helping each other. And of course, during those days, the kumiais were very active. And that is how the kumiais began--is to help each other, not only during hardship; but when a family needs to have help to have a celebration or something good has come about, they want to share it. I feel that the Waipi'o [slide show] strongly mentioned, as they interviewed the various people, that [slide show] said that Waipi'o will not be like the way it used to be because they have lost so much of the togetherness. I feel very much that Kona also is losing the same togetherness that we've had many years ago. And I hope that some of us here can still preserve some of the togetherness, helping each other.

Michiko Kodama (MK): Thank you for your comments, Alfrieda. We always know that we can count on you. I see some other familiar faces in the audience and I know that they've been in this project for a long time. I see a man that I've gotten to know quite well in front of me. Mr. Takashiba, can you tell us something of what you feel since you're a long-time coffee farmer and macadamia farmer, and now you've seen slide shows about a different place?

Yoshitaka Takashiba: I've been born and raised in Kona. On the [Kona] show, I missed the first part of the show, so I have no idea what transpired in the show, but on the Waipi'o show, as Alfrieda mentioned, they were almost identical to what the Kona people used to do in the olden days. We are losing---Kona's losing that, Alfrieda said, tremendously on the get togetherness. I recall that when we were in the 1940 to '60s, when, at that time, the vehicle was not too plentiful, most of the farmers walked to the stores. We always called the neighbor, one or two, and went to the store together. Today, each farmer, even though I myself have only one driver, have three or four vehicle. So, we go out with the jeep or family car. So, even how close our neighbor is, we hardly get together. Sometimes, we meet them probably once a year when we have a gathering for our kumiai or so. That's how we're losing our togetherness. Well, fortunately, we have two cooperatives in existence. And that kind of hold our overall farmers together; but if this cooperative is not existing, I think we will be something like Waipi'o. Each individual will be going on their own way. So, I feel that if we don't have our cooperative now, we may face identical what Waipi'o is facing right now.

And another thing that come in my thoughts right now is that the coffee farm is getting less and less. I once stated to the coffee buyers that eventually we will have no coffee in Kona. The coffee buyer said the coffee has been existing in this world for past I don't know how many thousand years or more. And for that reason, he stated that coffee will not get out of existence in Kona, but I don't know how we coffee farmers presently farming a small acreage would feel the same thing as for Kona. In the other country, maybe so, but in Kona, I don't know how many coffee farms will be in existence 20 or 30 years from now. Thank you.

MK: Thank you, Mr. Takashiba. I see another familiar face in the audience. There is Dick Fowler, a man who's been in this community for some time. And he's kind of familiar with the project and the area. I believe he's affiliated with the dairy business right now. I'd like to ask him for some of his comments on the two shows that he's seen.

Dick Fowler: Thank you. Well, it's certainly a pleasure to see the show finished. We saw it earlier. We saw it a month ago. And it really came together and showed an awful lot of hard work. And it's good to see that the same kind of spirit that made things work makes the project work and gets people out. It's nice to see so many who are able to come up and have the interest in who we were so that we know who we might be in time. And I want to thank Chad [Taniguchi] and everyone that's come over and done it, because I think the people of Kona owe them a little bit of appreciation for the hard work they've done. Thank you.

MK: Let's see, now. Mr. Murata, I know you've lived here a long time. I've met your mom and I know you're at least second or third generation here. So, I want to find out what you as a Kona resident felt about all this.

Herbert Murata: One thing I can say, after seeing the Waialua/Haleiwa slides that I was glad I was born in Kona. Certainly, we here haven't gone thorough especially the labor problems and the continuing pressure under the plantation system or bosses and so on. After the reviewing the slides, I had felt perhaps having a break in between the different times--let's say, the First World War. Until the first war, things were quite different. Then, the statehood division. Things have changed quite drastically after we became a state. And also, after the Second World War. Perhaps, for us here, that break would kind of identify us little more, too, the events that took place and the changes that took place. As Alfrieda and others have said, it was very simple, life here before those things came about. We were mostly among our own ethnic society and groups, very much separated. But though these events, it brought about a unity, a more closer working together and just broadened our whole outlook as a community. Most of us, after the Second World War, especially, felt no longer tied to Japan, like in our case, and so on. And it just changed our whole outlook as to life

itself and toward other ethnic groups around us. The other thing, perhaps, is the shifting of the community. The events--like in the Holualoa area was almost a center at one time during the early plantation days of population as well as activities. But that has shifted drastically since the many changes have taken place. Things like that, to us here, would like some of those things recorded, probably, to see the various definite changes that have taken place during the last 50 years.

And I'd like to have a little more of the--let's say--the Portuguese, the Chinese, the Filipino--we had quite a bit of the Filipinos--but the Puerto Rican people who have also contributed much to the overall growth here in Kona. They did all have a very unique part, as we grew up together. And I believe all this has brought about what we have today. All in all, it's been a great change for some of us that have gone through all this since the early '20s. It has all been for the better, I'm sure. Some of the events, some of the experiences were hard to take at times. But like for us who were able to leave the islands to go to the Mainland, Europe, and other places, have truly just broadened our whole outlook toward the whole world and, of course, to our own community. I still feel, after traveling all over, that this is still the best place to live. Thank you so much.

MK: Thank you, Mr. Murata. I feel that maybe now we can hear another woman's viewpoint. There's Nina Kālaiwa'a of the Keopu area. Nina, just your little sharing of your thoughts. Nina's been very active in the senior citizens' program, and she's well known for her work down at the King Kamehameha Hotel with the kupunas. Nina?

Nina Kālaiwa'a: Aloha Mai. It's the first time I've ever been on this kind (laughter) to talk with everybody. So nervous, cannot say much. So, I prefer I like my Kona. Because I was raised from here. I used to be a farmer, coffee land with my folks. They own a coffee land and a taro patch. We used to work. During the week, we go to school and we stay middle house. And afterward, we go live up the mountain. We get small little shack where the family can only sleep in. And then, we work. Weekdays, we go to school. We stay ma kai. Like sometimes, on a week, we go home down the beach. Catch fish for go up and live in the farm. That's a lot of hard work. Those days were really hard. Was hard. No money. All we do is to change. We get taro, go to the beach, change with the people down the beach for fish. Although my daddy is a fisherman. He go 'ōpelu, all that. But for us kids, we don't get money to spend around like today days. But I still like my Kona with my farm. And I still farming my Kona at my age now. So, I get some few taros, garden around my home. Take care my coffee land. I think that's all I can say. Mahalo.

MK: Thank you. Okay, I think now we've heard a little bit about growing taro in Waipi'o, growing taro and coffee in the Keopu area. Maybe we can go and shift to another part of Kona, the Honaunau side. If

you looked at the displays, there's a quote about getting your "Ph.D." Franklin Odo, over here, he has a Ph.D., but it's not the kind that Willie Thompson has. So, Mr. Thompson, you have one "Ph.D.," so you can compete with Franklin. Can we have some of your thoughts tonight? Willie Thompson. Otherwise known as the holder of the "Ph.D." or the post hole digger degree.

Willie Thompson: You got a Ph.D?

MK: Not that good, yet. I have to come to your ranch and learn from you.

Willie: Okay, okay. (Chuckles) Good evening, everybody. I don't know--what you want me talk on?

MK: What do you think about Kona and the other place you saw about tonight?

Willie: Well, I tell you. I lived in Kona for 60 years. So, 60 years, you can't say anything bad about Kona. (Laughter) Waipi'o, I went to Waipi'o about 25 years ago. You had to ride a mule down and walk up the hill. But I don't know, I think people who lived in Waipi'o, they feel that's their home. They rather have Waipi'o than here. We in Kona here, the people who come here, they've been all around the island. I think they choose Kona before they take Waipi'o.

I'm not a coffee farmer, but I know how to pick coffee. When I first come here, I picked coffee. I picked half a bag. Whole day, only picked half a bag. Forty cents to one bag. You can't make a living that way. So, I worked up on the ranch. Those days, we had two kinds of cowboys--the real cowboy and the drugstore cowboy. The drugstore cowboy, he's the guy that comes here with the big 15-gallon hat and the high boots, leather jacket, and all that, you see. But you take 'em up on the mountain there where the ranches are, and the first thing, he wants to ride a horse. You say, "Here, boy, you got Ph.D?" Well, some of them, they tell you they have, but, anyway, I said, "When I was 12 years old, I got my Ph.D." And Ph.D. in cowboy language is post hole digger. You have to learn how to make a fence, go dig holes, and fix the fence before you can ride a horse. So, that's the difference with a real cowboy and a drugstore cowboy. Drugstore cowboy, he never can go out and dig hole. Today, there's no more of that post hole diggers. All they have---you see, they use steel post. And they have post driver. They drive the post down. So, hard to get them to go out and dig a hole. The first thing, they say their hands all blistered and all that.

Well, last year sometime, some of the teachers asked me to go to Konawaena to talk to some of the kids up there. They want to know about the old-time paniolos, you know, old cowboys. So, well, I get there; there's about 40 kids there. Asked 'em, "What you kids

want to know? How many going to be a cowboy?" Some of 'em put their hands up. And there was a little girl. She puts her hand up; she want to be a cowboy. I said, "Today, cowboy, maybe it's all right." Before you take the job, you say, "How much you going to pay me?" That's the first thing they ask you. I don't care where you go today. Everything, they want to know how much you going get paid. The old days, you never asked what they going to pay you. You go work, then the boss feel if you worth five dollars a month, well, he give you five dollars. If you think you worth $20, that's all you get, you know. Most of the them get $15 and $25--that's top pay, cowboy. Cowboy, they consider that the lowest of all the lowest, you know. Can't go any lower than that. And next come the pick-and-shovel, work on the road, you see? You see the Hawaiians working on the roads. You never see one Japanese; you never see no other nationality work on roads. No haoles work on the roads. But you'll see a few go out and work up on the ranches. But the first payday, that's the end. They never go back no more. (Laughs) I think this Mrs. Lincoln here, she knows about that. She was here long time. That's the way. When you want a workingman, you go. . . . Well, these kids up there, they ask me, first thing they said, "We want to get up on the ranch."

I said, "What you want to do up there?"

"We want to go ride horse."

I said, "You know how to ride horse?"

"Well, I used to ride a donkey, that's about all."

So, I said, "Well, if you want to know how to ride, you go up to Sure and Save. They get a horse out on the porch." (Laughter) "Put a dime in there, then you practice on that." (Laughter)

Then, one kid ask me, "You have horses?"

I said, "I have a few horses."

"You have some dogs?"

I said, "Yeah."

"Oh, my house, get five dogs," he said.

I said, "Well, I have five dogs, too."

Then he said, "You have cowboys?"

I said, "Yeah. I get five cowboys. My dogs, they're my cowboys." You get your dogs, you go out in the--like, we have rough country. You get out and say, "Jack, go out and"--some cattle in there, you know, in the guava and the brush, oosh 'em out, they go chase 'em

out. But you take a human being cowboy, you tell 'em go in there; he ride the horse. And he comes out, no cattle comes out. (Laughter)

Say, "Where's all the pipi [cattle]?"

"Oh, no can go in there. The place all tangled. The horse no go."

"Why don't you walk in there? Get off and walk."

"Oh, my toe sore." (Laughter)

You can't get no work out of them. But the dog, you say, "Oosh 'em, he go," you know. He come back. You scold 'em, you give 'em hell, and oosh 'em back, he go back. He listen, you see? So, that's the best kind of workingman. They never ask you how much pay, what you going to feed 'em. Well, that's the difference between cowboys I've seen. This drugstore cowboy, they come from Mainland, maybe. I don't know where they come from. They come and they say, "Well, we want to ride a horse."

"Okay."

Well, the old-timers here, they get the horse ready. Say, "John, get Snapshot or whatever you want to call him--Lightning--and bring him out." So, this guy goes there. They go out, saddle the horse. He put the saddle on the horse and everything. Then one of the old-timers, they go; they put one of those burrs. Put 'em under the blanket. And soon as that guy gets on the horse, the darn moving horse hump back. He try to move and that thing pinch his back and he give 'em couple bucks, and off he goes. Well, you don't get a job here. You stay on 'em, you get a job. You don't stay on 'em, you out. And then, some of them, they come here, they say they cowboys and come from Montana or wherever they come. They all dolled up, you know. Well, when they get the horse up there, saddle the horse. Well, he goes there; he put the wrong feet in the stirrup. He get on the horse, he facing the other way. (Laughter) So, that's cowboy, you see? But the old Hawaiian paniolo cowboy, they learn the hard way. No saddle. They ride bareback, or ride with a pack saddle, or something. Anything, they ride. They can ride with one stirrup or no stirrup. They get on the horse, take him by a high rock, and jump on. And they stay on 'em. So, they become good cowboys. Where the horse can't go, they walk. They no say, "My toe sore." So, anyway, if anything else you folks want to know about cowboys, you ask me. I think that's about enough tonight.

MK: Thank you so much. I think, tonight, you've learned a lot about Kona coffee and Kona. And through Willie Thompson, you've learned about another industry that was very important here. And during his little talk, he mentioned the name that all of you or some of the old-timers may know. She's sitting in the second row here, and she's Frances Lincoln. If you could just take a couple minutes, just a little while, to share some of your thoughts as a old-time

schoolteacher. And what you've seen about Waipi'o.

Frances Lincoln: I'll have to be notified about stopping. Willie Thompson and I came in the same year, but we never met till about 30 years later. Wasn't it from Maui? Where's Willie? He disappeared? We came the same year, but we didn't know each other till later.

Well, I'm not going to talk as a teacher but as a person. First, on the reflections of the persons who felt the loss of the togetherness. It's many years, even before I came here---my life goes back to the horse and buggy in the Middle West. I couldn't help contrasting when our whole life was geared to the automobile many years later and in two other states besides this one. [I feel] that [with] the automobile, for all it's convenience and high speed and the general tone of life in the petroleum age, that something very good was lost. And that was to get togetherness. I felt very much in tune with the two or three people who felt that, Alfrieda and others. Because in the horse-and-buggy days, two farmers met on the road, and the horses were not all busy that they couldn't be stopped to exchange remarks about, "Well, how is your pasture? Is it drying? Is your corn all right? And how are the babies," and all that. A little conversation. We stopped right on the road. There was no traffic behind, beep, beep! Get out of the way, you know, and straight ahead. And when everybody had cars or stayed home, what do you say to each other? What do you see? They don't even say hello. You can't even look at that other car. Why, you got to watch your road or something going to happen to you. You got to steer the thing.

And so, in the field itself, the farmers of old, with their horse implements--the cultivator, the plow--could think. Their heads could get thoughts. And I think the voting was better. And a lot of other things they did were better. How to work out the problems with raising the kids, or pleasing the wife, or paying the debt. Time for the brain to do something while your feet were following the plow. But getting to the mechanized agriculture, you've got to put all you've got onto that machine, that dingus. If you don't, you may land under it and then in the cemetary. And something is lost there. I think it's made our farmers, well, very fat, for one thing. Our farmers have talked here in the meetings--slim, trim, and healthy. And you look at the farm journal, the issues of recent years. How is the picture of the typical or maybe they think the ideal farmer nowadays? His arms are fat, his legs are fat, his front is fat, his back is fat. The whole works looks very moon-like. Curves, curves. He looks no more like a farmer than one of his own pumpkins. And I guess the idea is maybe to show that the machine makes life so easy that no farmers needs to be anything but fat. Enough of that.

I'm greatly concerned about Waipi'o, where I've never been, but in relation to the taro disease, which I did not know existed until tonight. I'm wondering if it might be related to a subject which

came up as one of the coffee problems about 1950 or the early '50s. There was a slump in the demand for Kona coffee. I was pursuing these things. I'm not a coffee farmer, but I was then reporting Kona news to one of the Honolulu papers, and they're always interested in coffee--anything to say about the coffee crop. So, I pursued this matter and was acquainted with people at American Factors and at the local co-op at Keauhou. I wish George Harada were here. Both men, at one time, I found, when I was trying to get hold of them, were on the Mainland trying to sell Kona coffee. And it just wasn't selling the way it used to. That had been reported by word of mouth and by press. So, I thought I would go after that subject. And doing hand work myself on my farm here, what has changed to change the demand for Kona coffee and reduce it? What can it be? What has changed. I felt the air is the same, the soil is the same, the climate is the same, it's the same farmers. What has changed? Oh, methods. Formerly, the passerby on foot or horseback would hear the farmer at work. And the sound was tink, tink-tink-tink-tink. The hoe rattling on the rocks as he hoed his coffee to pull the weeds. And later on, what was the sound in those coffee fields? Pshht, pshht, [Frances Lincoln makes scraping sound], pshht. Poison and more poison to kill the weeds. And the fertilizer out of bags. Formerly, the man who weeded his coffee threw the weeds to dry up under the coffee trees and that contributed to the fertility of the ground. I'm not going to go into a lecture into organic gardening, but I couldn't think of any other thing which had changed in the producing of that Kona coffee, which the West Coast buyers were giving the cold shoulder.

Well, eventually, the two men came back--the American Factors manager and George Harada--and I talked with both of them. George Harada had been following both ways of cultivation. But, anyway, I asked them, "What did they tell you, if they don't want the Kona coffee the way they used to?" What they did with the Kona coffee was that it had a superior flavor even with that [1/]1,000th of the world's production. They mixed it with the other coffees which were not so well flavored, and that's why they were paying a much higher price for Kona coffee than for Brazilian. But the Kona coffee, having lost part of its flavor, was not giving the same results with the coffee tasters on the Mainland who were responsible for the formula for mixing the coffees. I talked this over with George, and he then sent samples of the coffee which he cultivated--and a few of the farmers with him, I think--cultivated by the old, old ways only. And the same farmers had also some done by the modern methods. It was their annual task to send little jars of coffee to the buyers on the Mainland and get their opinion on it for estimates as to its quality and therefore, for its prices. And George received very good reports from the coffee which was raised in the old, traditional methods, abandoned by most of the people in favor of the easier methods. Perhaps that's all I should be saying. And so, in relation to the Waipi'o trouble of the rot--taro happens to be my favorite vegetable and I'm just learning how to produce it--that those symptoms in the pictures look as if it could possibly

be related to those modern methods that were also illustrated in Waipi'o. I didn't know that had happened to Waipi'o. I think that should be looked into.

The project has been very well done. I'm happy about it. I do question the method of getting consensus opinion--that averaging and summarizing of the opinions. I don't think it gives a correct or a valid impression. I'm not judging from this project only but far back in my teaching life when the teaching profession went rather overboard on that method. Whatever meeting they had, the same kind of thing. I question its validity. But on the whole, I'm so happy that it was recorded. When I was young, I thought, somebody must write about Kona. Somebody must be a Kipling for Kona. But not me. I want to be on my horse down those trails. So this has relieved my conscience of something, and I'm very glad this project has succeeded so well.

MK: Well, Mrs. Lincoln is one of the real old-timers here. And I've noticed some younger faces in the audience, and I'm wondering if there are some of you who'd like to share your thoughts on the Kona slide show, or the Waipi'o slide show or the Waialua slide show? If you're under 30 and you consider yourself young and want to say something, this is your chance. Anybody? How about somebody under 40? That's kind of young, yet, huh? Somebody under 50? Maybe I'm embarrassing people by mentioning ages, yeah? This is your chance. If you're a newcomer here or you're just plain kinda young and you want to let the older members of the audience know what you're thinking after hearing their stories, we ask you to share some of your comments. We have one or two friends of Nina's here, and I think they want to say something.

Becky Nalani Minton: My name is Becky Nalani Minton, and I came to work on a project with Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian children with the Lili'uokalani Children's Center. I was trained in pond management at Oceanic Institute and had a chance for the last six months to work at Konawaena. I see the principal sitting in the back. So, it's a real learning experience for me to be here. I was raised on farms by grandparents in the Midwest. I'm part-Hawaiian but was raised away most of my life. So, getting used to, you know, familiar with this world is really wonderful for me. It's a feeling of belonging to a world that I've been away from for a long time. And so, it's really valuable to me to hear tonight people who have been here all their lives talk about farming and ranching. And fishing also comes to mind for me because at this point in time for Hawaiian people and for many people who are interested in land and it not being simply sold away as a commodity, this evening is very relevant for what's going to happen next. One of the things you can see as you're going to the airport now, along the side of the road, the aa land that's been left on the ma kai and ma uka sides are starting to be used for agriculture. And this is one of the things that will be happening on our project.

Just a reaction from the kids that are involved in the project, because Kona is changing so fast already, the children or young people who are 14 to 18 years old are already reminiscing day by day and week by week at the mango tree that used to be there (laughter), or the farm that we used to run away to, or here's where we hunted pigs and now there's a Sure and Save. So, it's changing so fast, and I feel very grateful to be here at this time when I still feel like I can catch the glimpse, as we are being able to tonight, from all of you of what has been here, and hope that the value in all of that and in your lives, what you've given it, stays as an inspiration to those who want to farm, and fish, and ranch, and enjoy the spiritual value of this place as it is. Thank you.

MK: Thank you very much. It's kind of nice to hear from some young people. Because we've really given you the story from the second and first generations out here who are older, and that was really nice. Now, we'd like to hear from our humanities scholars. And then, again, we'll offer you an opportunity to express your thoughts, if you want to, after that. But right now, I'll like to call up Dr. Franklin Odo of the Ethnic Studies Program, who's done a lot of research on plantation life in Hawaii. Franklin?

Franklin Odo: Thanks. I have an hour and a half lecture prepared, but I don't think I'll give it. I was very interested in those comments. I thought, couple things I wanted to say. One was, yes, I agree, there's a tremendous amount of feeling in the Kona slide show about the sense of things being lost, and I feel this throughout the state in a lot of things that the Ethnic Studies Program has worked with in trying to, in a sense, I guess, rekindle a feeling of community or working together. And not all of these movements or organized efforts are things that people agree with--Sand Island, Kukailimoku, Mokauea Island, Waihole-Waikane, Kalama Valley. A lot of these things have to do with the _'āina_, with the land, and people working it and being able to get a sense, not just of themselves directly with the land, but with other people who are also working with the land. I think that is one important message that the Kona story has to give us and maybe point the way to things that we need to look at as people of Hawaii to make sure that we don't lose any more of this than we already have. That's one.

The other, I'm not sure if Frances--is it?--was referring to the same thing that I thought of, that consensus doesn't necessarily really tell you the truth--that a method of bringing together a lot of people who essentially say the same thing is really telling you the whole story. I'll tell you what I missed in the Kona slide show--a sense of conflict. Mr. Murata, I think, pointed out he was glad that he had grown up here and not in Waialua, where it was so clear. The plantation experience was so clear--the _lunas_ were there, the managers were there. I mean, the divisions beween Hawaiian and Asian workers, and the _haole_ elite, the gap was so great and was so intensely felt. I get the sense that this wasn't exactly the same over here, but it seems to me unlikely that there

were not some kinds of inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic, social class things that people felt. I didn't see any of that, and I wasn't sure whether that was because they didn't exist or because, somehow, it didn't come out of the interviews at all. I was a little interested in that. But not having lived here, I don't know. But those would be my comments, and maybe people can pick up on them later. Vivien?

MK: I think I should give Vivien a little introduction besides just "Vivien," yeah? Her name is Vivien Lee, and she's the researcher/ interviewer who did the research for the Waipi'o slide show . . .

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

Vivien Lee: . . . recording my precious words. (Laughter) I really admire people that can come up here and speak off the top of their heads. I have a hard time doing that, and the slide show, the Waipi'o one, the research was done about three years ago, and I haven't seen the slide show for two years, so seeing it now has really provoked a lot of thoughts that I haven't quite organized yet. First, I guess, I'd like to agree with Franklin in that the Kona slide show did seem to give a rosy view of life in Kona--a lot of cooperation. You know, it was hard work, but we cooperated and had a good time and had good fun and everything. Seeing the Waipi'o slide show, I was struck with the---you know, we tried to be optimistic in the end, but the feeling comes through very clearly that what has happened in Waipi'o has been a loss. And so, it saddens me to see it again and be reminded that that's what happening in Waipi'o. At the time we did the slide show, the major problem seemed to be the rot. And I agree with Mrs. Lincoln that, I think, some of the problems were their new, modern methods of farming, using chemical fertilizers, herbicides, that were supposed to be used to kill the weeds on the bank but kind of got sprayed in patches by accident and that kind of thing. So, the major problem at that time was the rot, and they were losing a lot of the crop from that. Well, in the last two years, I haven't been back, but I heard that there were two major floods that wiped out everything, just about, in the valley. They replanted, and a second flood came and wiped it out again. So, I don't know. If anyone knows what is happening there now--have farmers replanted or have the prawn farms been successful--I would like to know. So, the problem was rot then; there are also these natural disasters.

And there's the additional problem, which was also brought out in the slide show, of the kind of lack of cooperation among the people, the farmers there. And this is one of the similarities I see between Kona and Waipi'o is that they were both non-sugar-plantation communities, and therefore, the people were very proud of being independent. Both in Kona and Waipi'o, they were their own bosses,

and they could work as hard as they wanted to, and whatever effort they put in, they got out all themselves. They were individualistic people, I think. And part of the problem in Waipi'o is that because they were individualistic, they couldn't come together when it was really necessary to come together. There was a lot of community functions, parties, making 'ōkolehao together, inter-ethnic marriages, all kinds of community things, but there were some crucial times when the farmers should have come together for their own economic benefit and formed some kind of cooperative. They tried to form taro co-ops, and they never really lasted very long because the farmers couldn't get along together. I'm not sure this would have saved the valley, because there are other factors like natural disasters. But back in the '50s, there was a major attempt to have a taro cooperative and to even start a poi factory in the valley again, and it fell through. So, those are some of the similarities and differences I see.

What else do I have? Also, I'm not sure what the land situation in Kona is. It seems there are a lot of owners of land here. Small lots, people own their own land. In Waipi'o, most of it is leased. And again, I've heard, in the last couple of years, Bishop Museum wants to sell the land. They own most of the valley, and they're having a lot of financial problems, and they want to sell the land. I have a feeling taro is really out in Waipi'o. The farmers can't afford to buy the land. It will probably be sold piecemeal to outsiders. So, we tried to end optimistically by saying that the young people do want to farm. We talked with many of them, and they do want to get back to the land and start farming. Many of them have. But it's just so difficult for them to do that. If they were together, they could lobby for the state to buy the land or they could do a few things, I think, but it's just so hard. There's a lot of small similarities and differences that I see that I don't think I have time to go into. So, the last thing, I guess, I want to say is to agree with Mrs. Lincoln about the change brought about by mechanization. I think that was one of major points in the Waipi'o slide show, too, that the change from subsistence farming to commercial farming was one of the major things that brought about the decline of taro in the growing and the decline in the feeling of community. Because the ancient Hawaiians had to cooperate to grow taro. It was, as in the Kona slide show, it was more than a crop. It was a way of life for them. The families and neighbors cooperated in regulating the water. They had to, because they shared the same water, the same stream. If the water had broke, they would all go up and fix it. Or they would all go and help weed somebody's patch, or go help pull taro. There was a lot of cooperation. It really regulated their lives. Once commercial farming began, it really changed a lot of things. And mechanization lessened the need for laulima or many hands working together. So, all these factors tie into the loss of taro in the valley. I hate to end on that note (laughter), but I will. (Laughter)

MK: I guess that, although taro may be declining just as coffee is here in Kona, it's good that people like Vivien and the people who are

here tonight are interested in those two industries and in the people's lives surrounding those industries. We also have tonight, John Reinecke, who will add to the comments of Vivien and Franklin.

John Reinecke: Thank you. Can you hear me okay? First, I'd like to ask, how many of you stayed down there for the Waialua/Haleiwa slides? Only three people, huh? Well, I think I'll change what I have to say, then. No use to discuss what only three or four people have seen out of around 50 to 60. So, I'll stick to Kona.

I'd like to add my voice to Dr. Odo's and say that I think that some of the tensions and the potential conflicts and perhaps some actual conflicts here in Kona were perhaps passed over. We all like to remember the pleasant things in life and sweep the unpleasant ones under the rug. And the unpleasant ones are still there. I think that Kona, as it changes from a fairly unified and close-knit agricultural district to one that depends very largely on tourism, is going to have a terrible time adjusting to the change. It's a great question, a very challenging question, how you can keep enough continuity in the community in Kona to have a real community. One way, I think, is for everyone to be consciously aware of the community, of his responsibility to it, and what kind of a community we want to carry on into the future. How are we going to make true "Konaites" of a majority of the population who were brought up on other islands, or on the Mainland, or perhaps not even in the United States.

I remember, when I came here, somewhat more than 50 years ago, people got along. People had close friendships across ethnic lines, but there was a lot of ethnic prejudice as well. I don't think that some of my Japanese friends had all that much love for the Hawaiians. I don't think some of my Hawaiian friends had all that much love for the Japanese, for example. I don't know what they thought about haoles (laughter), especially malihini haoles. Anyway, they tolerated us, and I'm glad that they did. Somehow, the groups got closer and closer together as time went on. And I'm hoping that we can integrate the newcomers and the old-timers here. As a historian now, not as a community citizen, I'm hoping that some people will be interested in the process of adjustment that they will keep notes, keep diaries, and make a record of how the adjustments are made in the community. What will be done to integrate, say, the dropouts from the local community? The sort of people who committed that murder a few months ago that was in the papers. How are you going to integrate them with the community so as to give them a sense that Kona is something that they have responsibility to carry on? Thank you.

MK: Now you've heard the comments of our scholars. And I'm wondering if there are some of you in the audience who'd like to share comments on the scholars' comments. Anyone in the audience tonight who'd like to say a few words? Mrs. Lincoln?

Frances Lincoln: The scholars' comments recalled things to my mind which I hadn't thought of for a long time. I'll deal with the local things. The first year I was here, of course, we had, let's say, an economic strata--the landed gentry, we might say. And the ethnic separation among some of them was very sharp, I would say, bitter. And more than a few times, the Mainland teachers would be asked, hospitably, to go to a home, let's say, British, and be given (inaudible). This is just afternoon groups, not large gatherings. A half a dozen people in the room . And the lady established here long would say, "You're making a mistake to educate all these Orientals. Pretty soon, they'll all want to be clarks." "Clarks" is the British, or at least the poor people's pronunciation, for clerk, you know, the white-collar job. They'll all want to be clerks. So, I wonder, perhaps some of them are pretty well turning somersaults in their graves over what's happening, with a mayor educated by his schoolteachers and a governor. But it seems sort of okay and logical, if 85 percent of the population--and the voting population eventually--became our pupils from foreign countries, other than Europe, that it would be only reasonable to have 85 percent of the official of the personnel from such ancestry.

Now, a story from Hamakua. I had for a time, a few years, a lady kinswoman as principal at Ookala School. And she reported, she had this school with about four Mainland girl assistants. And that was a plantation community. But speaking of the--was it you, perhaps--of the divisions. Certain lines must not be crossed. And the plantation had a way, if there was an opening of not an executive job but something like storekeepers or store employees, they would send to Scotland for employees, rather than take someone from Mid-Pacific, graduate from the agricultural families. The principal of the school informed me her girls were given to understand. And the plantation young men--those bachelors imported from outside from other countries--who had never seen a piece of sugarcane until they came here, but they were not allowed to date those young women at the Ookala School. Even the Americans were not quite acceptable. And teachers, among the British, are classed among the shopgirls--retail people. But that, happily, has apparently vanished. And I found, much sooner than I expected to, have been to hotel gatherings or some festive occasions, and finally, seeing at least some branches of the British families seated in a social event at the same table with some of local ancestry. I didn't think it could happen so soon. And they were in a colony themselves, even in Kona. I must take note of the courageous exceptions. One was a judge and his wife, American, third circuit here, when we had to have our own judge, because the local people couldn't pay for transportation to go to court in Hilo. Crime was so scarce that the judge had a very goldbrick life. But he and his wife--and from Tennessee of all places--were the most broadminded persons, and they would have little gatherings in their homes, either to play records and have dancing or just a discussion group on something, inviting, especially, certain young men to join them--young men who were in business, but of Oriental ancestry. The girls yet weren't being educated that

far. I thought that was courageous and I gave them credit for some of the changes. Another courageous couple was British. They lived at Kealakekua, retired sea captain and his British wife, both very literate and thoughtful. They were not in favor of too much education for Orientals, but they did tolerate myself for some reason. There was all grades of attitudes in my personal experiences as an American from advice not to educate too many laboring people. From that over to distinct and warm friendship. And the extreme of the hostile, was reported to me by an intermediate person, where she had been told a story about a hike with another Mainland teacher to visit a grass house down the beach. But the woman spoken to said the most hostile type of remark. She said, "Oh, you shouldn't go around with that awful Frances Fox [Lincoln]." (Laughs) In other words, to that type--and there was a minority, thank goodness--to that type, it was practically criminal to treat the aborigines or others as human beings. It might as well be aired.

MK: Thank you, Mrs. Lincoln. Time is sort of running short. Mrs. Lincoln and John have touched on some very important issues. I notice some people here who are obviously not long-time residents of Kona. And we've brought up the topic of the community now, and the ethnic changes, and the population changes. And John raised the question of how the community is integrating newcomers, and how newcomers are trying to get into the community. We're interested in hearing some of the newcomers' comments about Kona and their own experiences. So, if we can ask one of you or two of you to share some of your feelings about your own experiences here, we'd really like to hear them tonight. Is there a volunteer out there?

Peter Bacot: My name is Peter Bacot, and I'm not a coffee farmer, but I am farming. There's a coffee farmer over there who's not talking. I have to admit I pulled out some coffee trees the other day. We're planting fruit trees. I see the coffee's going down. The slides brought a lot of questions to my mind about that. Why is coffee going down when we have this Superior Company marketing it all over the world. And why is taro going down when it's one of the best foods in the Pacific. It's one of my own. As the slide show explained, it is the 'ohana food. I think there are lot of people who are coming today who have found they love this land, and they want to change it into---they don't want to change it. They want to change it back to the agrarian society that once existed here. They see the changes that are causing people to come apart from each other. The main way they've come to deal with that is to farm land. I can't say anything else about that, just farm the land.

MK: Are there any other comments for tonight? Okay. One of Nina's other young friends. She comes with her own group, you know, (laughter) to help us out.

Haunani Bernardino: I promise to be very short. My name is Haunani

Bernardino. I'm not from here, from Kona or from Hawaii, I come from Oahu, Honolulu. I went to see the slide show on the plantation. And it struck me that the language that was spoken there on that film was completely English. But the film over here or the slide show here had Japanese, Filipino, a little bit of Hawaiian. And I'm a Hawaiian language teacher. And for me to hear other languages being spoken on a modern-day film slide show, it says to me that language is still alive, especially here on this island, and that through the language, the culture will still grow. The values will still be there as long as the language is there. Now, for Haleiwa, for Oahu, most of us have not had that opportunity to experience other cultures with their language. We just see them, "Oh, you're Japanese, you're in my classroom," or "You're Portuguese. Oh, yeah, you sit next to me." We don't have that opportunity to be as close and as intimate as the people here on this island, or the people on Molokai or the people on Kauai. I am a guest here this week of Nina Kālaiwa'a to sort of cleanse myself. To go away from Honolulu for a while and to pick mango, go crabbing, go fishing, and get my fingernails all dirty. And it's hard, you know, to get that dirt out of you. But it's also hard to get that feeling out of you, too. Once it's there with you, it stays a long time. And I come here for cleansing quite often. So, mahalo for this evening.

MK: Haunani, thank you so much for your comments. I wonder if there's anybody else who'd like to express some feelings from the heart as Haunani has just done? Mr. Murata?

Herbert Murata: After hearing the various comments, I just can't help feeling that, as we look toward the history and all that took place, to look forward from here on, how we're going to develop and how we can. . . . So much have been mentioned about integrating and so on. I feel that a good spirit is developing. I've been very much interested in that type of thing, especially as Kona is uniquely agricultural. This seems to be the one area that certainly have helped in the area of integration and in the area of also preserving many of our unique ethnic practices, and customs, and so on. We do have one of the most ideal climates of all the world, you might almost say, at least in the state. And we still have lots of land that is useable and where the water that's available, and possibly, that we may have agricultural water one of these days. I still feel we do have a tremendous hope and something to look forward to here in Kona in days to come. Many that have come from other parts of the world and other islands have mentioned the fact that we do have a sleeping giant here in Kona. All it needs to be is to waken it up. So, looking at all the hardships that have gone on and have been developed up to now, I feel, that Kona has a tremendous possibility in whatever area that we can develop. But the area that's most precious to most of us is in the area of agriculture. And many of the young people, as well as some of the older people, are proving it through various means.

The thing that I feel that should be strongly developed and that

we've lost is in the schools, [we] have neglected to teach and develop this area. I've been engaged in the various gardening projects, and we're sad to say that we have had very little cooperation from the schools or the public school system. That's where it begins for the children. We almost have to reteach the children and, from the early age, develop this love for the land. And also, the parents being an example. The first generation have really done a good job, but we, in the second and third generation, have really failed in this area by neglecting this very important, I believe, unique part of Kona. And I think it's up to us to really bring back that spirit and also set an example for the younger generation. This will be, probably, the only hope to really get back into the original spirit that brought about many of the things that we've seen tonight. Because of the possibilities here, I believe that Kona has a good chance of becoming a very productive area, regardless of what area you get into. It takes water and a few other things, but these things are possible. I'd just like to leave that note, as we finish, with all the hard work that have gone in the past and examples our parents and so on have come here for, there's a lot more and we're living in a place where there's a tremendous potential, especially in the area developing in the agricultural field, as well as the fishing and other areas. So, I hope that we could continue and not stop here. And something like that, where we have a good cross-section of people, with interest in developing the community to what most of us dream about someday. Thank you.

MK: Well, Mr. Murata has talked about the potentials of Kona. We've seen what the people in Kona have already accomplished. We've accomplished a whole lot tonight. We've seen three slide shows, we've had a real good discussion, and now I'd like to ask if there's anybody else who'd like to add their comments. I see Faye pointing to Walter Kimura. He was in the slide show as a very young man. He had his shirt off on the platform. And now you can see him grown up, with a shirt on. So, Walter? Oh, Morris? I'm sorry, I got the wrong brother. Anyway, both of them didn't have shirts on, but you can see one with the shirt on now. He's one of the hard workers of Kona. No? You're not going to come up? How about Mr. Okano? Whenever I see one Kimura, I see Mr. Okano. They seem to travel in pairs. Herbert or Mr. Kimura, jan ken po and hurry up. Faye, you started pointing at them. If they're not going to come up, you can take their place, you know. Oh, Mr. Paik, do you want to come up and say something? We didn't have anything on Koreans in the slide show, so now's your opportunity. No? Well, how about our scholars, are there any last words that you'd like to share? If not, I'll hold onto the mike and say something.

You know, what we've accomplished here in the last year in Kona is just a very small part of what's possible. We just started doing interviews and we had a lot of names, but we only got to interview 32. And some people have said, "How come you folks didn't do so-and-so and so-and-so?" The only thing we can say is that, well, we

tried, but we didn't have the staff, we didn't have the money, we didn't have the time to go and interview everybody who was potentially a good interviewee. So, we did miss out on some areas, some topics. But now, we've done a little bit. And we ask you, members of the Kona community, to continue the work that we started.

Not too long ago, I was in Honolulu, and old man Morihara, 97-year-old Mr. [Usaku] Morihara was there with his granddaughter and great-granddaughter. Mr. Morihara only speaks Japanese, and I was conversing with him about the debt adjustment. When I turned to the grandchild and the great-granddaughter, I said, "Did you know that he was involved in getting the debts reduced and sort of helped to keep the coffee industry continuing?" They said, "Oh, no. You know, kind of hard to talk to him. With the language problem, plus just kinda hard to talk to him." And I really felt sad at that point because it really brought home to me why this kind of project is very important. Not only for the older person who gets to tell a younger person, "Look, I'm not just an old man. I used to be a young person and I did accomplish things. I was vital and contributing." But it's important for the young person because that young person learns about that older person and also realizes that in the years to come, he's going to make contributions that are going to be looked upon by others as contributions not only to the family, to friends and neighbors, but to the community and to the state as a whole. So, what I'm asking for you folks to do tonight is, okay, go home. If you're an older person, start talking with the younger people around you. If you're a very young person, anybody under 40, go home and talk to an older person. Look at your old photographs. Maybe 15, 20 years from now, somebody else can make a slide show like this. If some of you didn't care about the past as much as you folks do, we couldn't have put this slide show together. There would have been no photographs and no interest in being interviewed. So I ask you to continue the work that your parents and grandparents did in preserving their history and what is now your history. And I apologize to those of you who may feel that we didn't do a good enough job, because we tried and we couldn't get to everybody. You have good resources in your community. Faye Komagata has some experience in oral history. Our office is always willing to help you in terms of techniques and materials. And you have people like Mr. Takashiba who believes in preserving family histories. You have men like Mr. Greenwell in the community, who's starting a museum. Maybe all of you can revive that spirit of cooperation that kept Kona going so long to preserve the history. I know you folks can cooperate and continue doing this type of work. So, thank you so much.

I just have to make a couple of announcements. If any of you are interested in maybe purchasing a set of transcript volumes, which will be available to the public in about August or September for an approximate cost of $60, we ask that you sign the prospective book buyer's sign-in sheet. I want to emphasize that we're not selling the books for profit, we're just charging you for the cost

of reproducing it. So, if you want to have those volumes, go ahead and sign up. It's not a firm commitment to buy but just an indication of interest. And if you don't want to buy it, they'll be available in the libraries anyway.

And another announcement is that I apologize to the people who are sitting way in the back and maybe couldn't see the screen too well tonight. There'll be another opportunity to see the slide show. Alfrieda will be showing the same slide show at the Kona Coffee Festival. They'll be showing it on a Saturday, and I urge you to go and see it at that time.

For those of you who may not have gotten brochures and who may want to have more brochures, go to the Kealakekua Ranch Center where the Kona Historical Society is and they'll be able to give you some brochures.

And as a last message, if you've filled out the evaluation forms, we ask you to drop them in a box at the sign-in table. And I'd like to thank all of you for being so patient tonight. And I'd like to thank the Reverend and Mrs. Faye Komagata and their children, Daishu and Shuji, who put up with Warren Nishimoto, myself, and the rest of the staff who've invaded their home once a month for the past year. We've had to wake up at odd hours to interview farmers like Mr. Takashiba. I would have to go interview him at 7 o'clock in the morning, and for a city girl, that's hard. And I would get the whole household up while I'm brushing my teeth and everything. So, we thank them for putting up with us. And we thank Mr. Hakoda, who provided the public address system, Sidney Kanno of the Senior Center, who lent us the facilities tonight. We also thank the people of Kona that you represent here tonight for helping us make this project possible. So, thank you, on behalf of our office.

END OF TAPE

KONA COMMUNITY MEETING #5

Honolulu, Oahu

June 27, 1981

Michiko Kodama (MK): Community meeting no. 5, Washington Intermediate School, June 27, 1981.

I think most of the crowd that saw the Waialua/Haleiwa slide show has come in already, so we'd like to start the discussion. The first question that we'd like you to deal with is, what was special to you about Kona that came to mind when you watched the slide show or thought about your own experiences in the area? And to start the discussion rolling, I'd like to call Mr. Kenji Goto up. He's a member of the Kona Club and he's been helping us a great deal in this project. So, Kenji, if you're here tonight, can you come up? Mr. Kenji Goto, a former Konawaena schoolteacher, now a resident of Honolulu. You have the floor for you to express your feelings about the slide show or about Kona and Waipi'o or whatever slide show you saw.

Kenji Goto: Well, I had the honor of participating in this project by being on the Honolulu committee and giving the staff of the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies [Oral History] Project the sort of advance information before the staff went to Kona to interview the people there. In addition, I was a kind of a intermediary between the Kona Club of Honolulu and the project, and finally, the Kona Club of Honolulu was one of the endorsers and the helpers of this project.

As far as the Kona picture was concerned, I wanted to see more. It was so interesting. It brought back memories of the past. However, there were so many people who have grown old just like I have grown old, and I could not recognize their faces. I was able to recognize some. As for the similarities between Kona and Waipi'o, I think there are similarities. Number one, I found that people in Kona and people in Waipi'o were entrepreneurs. They farmed their own land, and therefore, the ups and downs in the prices of coffee and the prices of taro, and also such things as blights, the effect has been about the same. As far as the differences are concerned, I think that in Kona, the majority of the farmers were Japanese, while in Waipi'o, the majority, as far as the present is concerned, it looks as though they're Hawaiians and, in the past, the Chinese. However, generally speaking, there seem to be similarities between the two communities. That's all, my remarks. Thank you.

MK: In talking with the audience tonight, I notice that there are many people who had their relatives and friends in the slide show. And I know that a lot of you are well acquainted with the Manago Hotel and Mrs. Manago, who's here with us tonight. And with her are her

family, the Manago family, including Dentist [Takashi] Manago. I'm wondering if Mr. Manago can come up here, either by himself or with his sister, Mrs. Takahashi, to share some of their thoughts about Kona, a place that they had left some years ago. So, Dr. Manago and Mrs. Takahashi, can we ask you for a few words?

Takashi Manago: Well, I left Kona in 1942, so as far as my knowledge of Kona, it's very limited compared to (tape inaudible). So, prior to 1942 I cannot give you much more than (tape inaudible).

MK: Dr. Manago, which slide show did you see after Kona?

Takashi: Waipi'o.

MK: Did you notice any similarities or differences?

Takashi: I would say, both communities were hard-working people. (Tape inaudible) Dr. Goto here, he wasn't bad, too. (Laughter) (Tape inaudible) talking about. (Tape inaudible)

MK: Dr. Goto, would you like to say something, too?

Takashi: He and I used to pick coffee together. (Laughter)

Unoji Goto: I think I agree with my brother Kenji that there is similarity between Waipi'o and Kona slides. However, I did feel that the Waipi'o slide was a little better done because there was more emotion. I think Kona program was more a documentary, and I don't think there was enough feeling of our emotions shown in that documentary or whatever it was, this historical review. Because I think the only time it was brought up was when Mr. Minoru Inaba said that the donkey fell. To load the coffee, he felt like crying. Well, there were many, many instances when we felt like crying. (Laughter) We fell from the ladder, and through grading. And (tape inaudible) and hit your bottom, and you couldn't breathe. (Laughter) For that reason, I thought the one on Waipi'o was much better done because it came from their hearts, whereas I think the other one was a documentary. I think if you could bring a little more of what we felt, it would be a better program.

MK: Thank you, Dr. Goto. It's a comment that we've had from other members in the Kona community last time we previewed a preliminary slide show. And I think Mr. Grant Kimura has something to say. Mr. Kimura?

Grant Kimura: As long as we have one of the stars here that was in the slide, maybe we should recognize Mrs. Manago. You've got to thank Mrs. Manago.

(Mrs. Manago is recognized.)

Grant: She's 92 (tape inaudible). (Laughter)

MK: Mrs. Manago's interview is in our project, and she was kind enough to share thoughts about her life from the time she was in Japan to the founding of Manago Hotel, to the present day. And I remember, she said that she can't believe how hard they worked. She felt that, maybe, they were made out of steel that they were able to survive all those years. And as I look around, I know that there are others of you who worked so hard in coffee. I met a Mr. Mukaida. I wonder if Mr. Mukaida has some words to share with us? Mr. Bennett Mukaida. Oh, I'm sorry, wrong Mukaida. (Laughter) Tom Mukaida, I'm corrected.

Tom Mukaida: I wish I knew that I was going to be up here to say something. But perhaps with your indulgence, I might say a few things that I have experienced. You see, my father was just 18 years old when he arrived in Hawaii. He arrived here in 1898. He was assigned to the plantation laboring gang, of course, and was sent to Maui. Whether it was Paia or whether it was Lahaina, I don't know. However, the treatment that many of the laborers had been receiving wasn't too good. Consequently, he broke his contract and ran away to Kona. When he arrived in Kailua, Kona, he had nothing but just a five-dollar goldpiece. He stayed at the--oh, what was the name of the restaurant in Kailua?--his son right now operates the 'ōpelu dried fish business, I believe, still. I can't remember too well. Well, anyway, what he wanted to do was learn to speak English. And fortunately enough, he found a schoolboy job at Ella Paris's hotel. And he learned English sufficiently enough. Then, of course, he was concerned about getting to be able to make a livelihood. He found a Korean man who was a tailor, and so he learned the art of tailoring. Consequently, he was located in a good location, and he opened up a tailoring shop. Many of the ladies--one or two of whom I recognize this evening, who used to come and learn to sew using the sewing machine, of course, when he eventually got into the tailoring business and selling sewing machine agency--White sewing machines.

Now, when I was about six years old and my brother just seven years old, like many a good parent, would take their children to the beach for an experience, picnic-like situation. Well, this one summer day, my father took the entire family, four of us kids. We hitched our carriage and left the carriage up by the Captain Cook trail that led down to the monument. We arrived there. As we arrived there, his friend, Mr. Tatsuno, was planning to leave for Japan very shortly, I think. And then, he was out on a little raft. When we arrived he beckoned my father, "Come on in. The water is fine." And so, he undressed there on the rocks there and he went in for a swim, trying to reach the raft. But halfway through, before reaching the raft, all we saw was his hand go this way, and he disappeared in the water. The predicament was that he was going to drown. My brother, about seven years old, ran across oh, a good 100 yards or so, where a Hawaiian family lived. I believe some of you might remember the name of this Hawaiian man, Mr. Lanui in Kaawaloa. Well, I believe his son still lives in

Napoopoo. I've been trying to locate him. I never had occasion to or able to find him. Well, evidently, in the afternoon about 2 o'clock, he was taking a siesta, I believe, but his wife must have been also observing what was going on. Well, anyway, he was kind enough to come over and see what he could do, I suppose. He swam out there and went down in the water, came up for air, and he went down again, and he came up with my father's leg like this. He was a great big Hawaiian man. Oh, he must have weighed about 300 pounds, no doubt, about 6 feet tall or taller. His hair was all grey, like mine. The amazing thing was that these old Hawaiians knew how to bring back a drowned person back to life again. Amazing. When I became a boy scout when I was about 12, 14 years old--I belonged to Troop 12--and I learned the art of artificial respiration and got my merit badge for second-class scout then. But the idea is that these Hawaiians knew how to bring a person who had drowned back to life again. And I couldn't forget this episode where he rolled him back and forth. And in the meantime, of course, there were several people who gathered around. Mother and these people who gathered built a big bonfire. It warmed up the blankets and the towels, and kept him warm. Mother was massaging him from toe to arms and all over the limbs. And he finally let out a groan, and he evidently started breathing. Now, no doubt, he must have been in the water a good 20, 25 minutes, perhaps. But the next problem was to try and get him to the doctor. In those days, we couldn't very well put him on a horse and get him back up the road and to the doctor, to the hospital--Kona Hospital. So, my brother, just seven years old, hitched the horse. He went up to call uncle. Mr. Yukitomo was the cook then for Mr. MacFarlane, the manager of Kona Coffee Plantation. And, of course, MacFarlane had a bessō or a beach home down in Napoopoo. My uncle was quite familiar with that area. My brother went up all by himself on this horse and told Mr. Yukitomo that he needed help because father had drowned and needs to be sent to the hospital. Well, he went down to Napoopoo, hired a canoe. And the canoe with two Hawaiian natives paddled across the bay. This is how father was taken back on the canoe to Napoopoo and thus, to the hospital. Of course, since then his health was very bad, and having injured his lungs somehow, was sent to Puumaile Hospital in Hilo. However, he was discharged because he was not a case of TB. Well, this is an interesting episode, I think, and I thought I'd like to share it with you. Thank you.

MK: Thank you, Mr. Mukaida. I think tonight is an opportunity for old friends to get together, and I guess it's a time when old memories are sparked about events that happened long ago. And thinking about those things, I know that there's a man here who was a county extension agent there back in the 1920s or 1930s. So, if Mr. Earl Nishimura is still here with us this evening, I'd like to ask him to come up and say something about the comparisons between Kona and the area he looked at during the last half hour. Is Mr. Nishimura still here? I guess maybe Mr. Nishimura has left for the evening. But another person I know that's . . .

Kenji: Since the Managos are so silent about the landmark at Captain Cook, I think I'll pinch-hit for the members of the Manago family. I remember Mrs. Manago coming to Kona as a picture bride from Japan. Mr. Manago was working for Mr. Wallace, right in the bend over there, about a hundred yards from the Manago Hotel towards Kainaliu. And I also remember, after the Managos, Mr. and Mrs. Manago, left the employment of the Wallaces, and they started that hotel there. It was a small hotel, but right now, it is a big hotel. It is the largest and it has survived. They were many other hotels--the Okimoto Hotel, the Okamura Hotel, and a couple of other hotels along the roadside, but they've all disappeared. And the Manago Hotel is still growing strong. I remember the oldest son, Mildred, and all these people being born. And the Manago Hotel adding and rebuilding the hotel facilities. Then, I remember Dr. Manago volunteering for the 442nd, and few months later, I went into the army as a language specialist.

Well, one incident that I did not see actually, but the story went around very well. In 1918, the Prohibition came about. So, the Japanese so-called elites in Kona, like Dr. Hayashi's father, Jimmy Morita, who is the chairman of the Board of Directors of City Bank, his father, and several other people. I believe those people were in their 30s and 40s, those days. And they said they are going to have a--translated from Japanese, Masamune no sōshiki, which means they're going to have a funeral for whiskey and (laughter) sake. The Managos had a large tank. You know, being a hotel, they needed an extra large [tank] to provide water for the guests. But this tank was exposed. There's no covering over it. And the tank was below the second-story level. And so, the last night of the period you're allowed to drink liquor, they had a big party up in the second story. One incident was that one of the fellas fell in the tank. (Laughter) Pushed in the tank. Another incident that Mrs. Manago told me was that somebody hit another fellow on the head with a sake bottle and had a big gash in the scalp. So, Dr. Hayashi--this is Dr. Chisato Hayashi's father--told Mrs. Manago to bring a sewing needle. (Laughter) She said she was so worried, you know, to suture this cut in the scalp with a sewing needle. But anyway, she found a sewing needle, and this Dr. Hayashi sutured this cut on the scalp with a sewing needle. But I guess present-day doctors would not use that kind of thing. (Laughter)

MK: Thank you, Mr. Goto, for sharing that story with us. I did the interview with Mrs. Manago, but she never told me such (laughter) things. Let's see, now, I see Wendell Kimura of the Holualoa area. Mr. Kimura, could you say something to us about Kona and about the Waialua slide show that you saw? I know that you're related to Tsuruyo "Lau Hala" Kimura, and Walter and Morris Kimura, the two young men you saw up on the platform without their shirts. Now, they're dignified school principals who go around with nice Ivy League shirts, but you saw them up their without their shirts and they're representatives of the hard workers of Kona. So, another representative of a hard-working person, Mr. Wendell Kimura.

Wendell Kimura: Well, I'm not going to say much because although I was born in Kona, I never lived in Kona. So, I really don't have any real stories to tell. But all through my life, I've always been very, very proud to have been born in Kona. And I have about 5,000 relatives in Kona (laughter). My grandfather was Dr. Hayashi, and my other grandfather was this Y. Kimura Store--I think you saw it in the slides. My reaction to the program was that I thought it was real well done, but like one of the speakers mentioned, I think it needs to capture more of the soul of Kona--that is, the real inner feelings of the people of Kona based upon the ethnic traditions, more so than the economic conditions as such. I think there are a lot of real human stories and emotions involving the real dreams and hopes, and the spirit of the people of Kona, looking forward to the future. As a young child, I used to visit Kona, but I never really participated in the soul of Kona. But I know that it's very strong, and the pride is very great, and the love of the land is very great. I think a little more of that spirit needs to be captured. But, I think if you want to hear a story, I can ask my father, who was born in Kona in 1898, Albert Kimura. He might be able to say something.

MK: Mr. Albert Kimura?

Albert Kimura: Well, I think I'm too old to speak anything. I forgot almost everything in Kona, because I've been in Honolulu for a long time. Well, 1898 is a quite long time ago. I hardly remember anything. Kona was really a country place. I was born in Kamalumalu. It's a really country place. My father was a immigrant. He came to Hilo, Wainaku with his friends. About ten fellas crossed from Hilo to Honapu by walking three days. And from Honapu, he rode on the Kinau and came to Kona. When he came to Kona, he worked for the Kahaluu Plantation--coffee company. They had coffee plantation over there. This plantation was the first coffee plantation in Hawaii. They cleared the coffee land, five acres each. About ten people cleared all the guava land, and then they built their house. The house was lumber and then dirt. And then, they had the kitchen (chuckles)--what do you call?--fireplace. They cook on that dirt place. Most of the houses in those days were like that. In those days, they didn't have enough lumber, so they made very simple. That was Japanese style of making the bedroom high, and then put these sandals and so forth down. We had friends, neighbors next door. We cultivated five acres of land. They cleared all the land. When my father came in Kona, there wasn't any otera, or school, or anything. They built a church and they built a school. And they had a hospital, I guess, but two doctors. There was Dr. Hayashi and Goodhue. My father was a carpenter in Japan. He went all over Shikoku. He went to Korea from small time. And he learned how to build [water] tanks and houses. So when he came Hawaii, especially in Kona, they didn't have any receptacle for water, so he built tank all over. He was good in building tank. He built for the Hawaiians, and he learned how to speak Hawaiian. He was fluent in Hawaiian language, but he couldn't speak English. (Laughter)

But he wrote his name, and later on, he became a businessman. He found out the businessmen were making good money, because the businessmen were selling the goods to the farmers, and then the farmers would give the coffee to the businessmen, and the businessmen sell the coffee to the wholesalers, American Factors. The businessman, middleman, was making money on both sides from the farmers and from the wholesalers. So, he went in business. He start a business, and he made a lot of money on business. But depression came. He had too many coffee lands, and he couldn't pay the taxes. There was so much taxes, so he lost most of the land. He only held about 100 acres of land, 50 acres (laughter) was coffee. And then, in those days, there were pure capitalism in Kona. The American Factors and Davies Company, they loaned to the coffee stores. They had stores all over. These stores lended merchandise to the farmers for one year. The coffee land, the farmers, turn over the coffee to the stores, and the stores turn over the coffee to the Davies and American Factors. Those stores, merchants, were making good money. And the capitalistic system was helping each other for one year. Now, when depression came, these stores, they owe $75,000, $25,000, $10,000--all over, they owe to American Factors and Davies and Company. And these farmers, they owe to the store, $3,000, $2,000, maybe $10,000. And they couldn't do nothing. They couldn't pay in anything. So, most of them, the coffee farmers, they ran away. Now, the negotiation went between these people, Factors and Davies, and the farmers. What they want to do is to cancel all the debts so the merchants succeeded in cancelling the debts. The Factors cancelled all the debts. And then, the stores, they cancelled all the debts of the farmers. That's the way they solved the problem.

But one thing, the Kona people had a hard time in coffee; they had good time too. After World War I, the coffee price went ten cents a pound, and they made good money. They had real big expansion. But they had the depression and all kind trouble. Now, the way I think is that the Kona people will leave their tradition; they will leave their footstep. Like my family, we had about 12 people over there. My parents died. Only two left over there. All the other ones came Honolulu. But they will still have their footstep over there, and they will leave the tradition. They'll keep on going. You seen in the picture, one boy was almost naked, but he's a superintendent (laughs)--I mean, he's a principal of Konawaena High School. And I think they will make it good.

When I look at other places, Wainaku Plantation or some places, and compare with Kona, Kona is a big difference. You find independence. The Kona people is really struggling. And they really have that pride. They are polite. Honolulu people, they are not respect[ful], in a way. Because from small time, they [Kona people] go to the school, and they learn the ethics. They learn ethics of human beings. When the respected person, older people pass, we used to bow. But in Honolulu, they don't do that. (Laughter) They haven't got that manners.

Now, I think, some other places, like the picture I saw over there about Waialua, the difference is this: always, I think, the plantation owned almost all the territory land in Hawaii. They owned just like the southern states of America. But these capitalists, instead of dividing the land and giving to the farmers, five acres or like that, selling to them, they selling the land to the developers. When the price come up, they selling to the developers. They don't care who. They selling them. They divide, and they make their lot of profit. That's something I cannot understand. I think the land should be given to the farmers who has been there for a long time. (Applause) Just like that Wainaku, Waialua. They are struggling for their land in Kaneohe side, Kahaluu side. That's the same principle. The Hawaiians are struggling. Like in the country, like Kona, but they own the land. Five acres, each family, they own the land. They get the house right in the center of the land, and they get their family right over there. Schools, nice schools. They get nice hospitals, everything. Churches, otera, and everything. Their own. Now, where in Hawaii has those things? I think it's only in Kona. Especially in Holualoa and my place. (Applause)

From Hilo to way down Waipi'o, all the right land, the soil land, is owned by the plantation. And that plantation, when they cannot run the plantation, they sell it to the developer. That's the whole trouble. They should divide the land. That's what that Governor Stainback used to tell the Olaa Plantation. He owned a few shares in Olaa Plantation, but he used to raise hell with Olaa Plantation managers. He said, "Divide the land and sell to the farmers, and you run the mill only." See? That's the way you keep the cane mill going. But if you try to do everything, you going lose everything. Olaa start to give little bit land. They get houses over there now, they sell to the farmers. But I think that's the only way that the plantation can survive. Otherwise the plantation going to lose everything pretty soon. In Hawaii, there won't be any plantation. So, if, well, the University of Hawaii, I don't know what they intend to do. They studying. (Laughter) If they can make the plantations, the Big Five, realize. The Big Five is still there. They're not gone yet. Pretty soon, but they'll be gone. So, if you can convince the Big Five--not in maybe Oahu, but in the countryside to sell the land to the farmers, divide 'em. In certain places, they do--Wainaku, like that, they did. And that's good idea. If they can pursuade the plantation, Big Five, to do that, it'd be pretty helpful. Thank you.

MK: Mr. Kimura, dōmo arigatō. (MK bows.) Thank you so much, Mr. Kimura. As someone born in 189[8], you've lived through it all, and you're living proof of what a Kona person can do. As a Japan-born but Honolulu-raised girl, we respect people, too. So, dō-mo arigatō gozaimashita.

Right now, I'd like to call up our humanities scholars so that they can comment on the slide shows and your commentary. And after that, we'll again open the floor up to discussion. So, right now, Franklin? Dr. Franklin Odo of the Ethnic Studies Program, University

of Hawaii.

Franklin Odo: Thank you. After Mr. Kimura, I thought that was an awfully [hard act to follow] . . .

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

Franklin: . . . and what should happen to the land, and who should have a say about what happens to the land. So, my first thought was, this is one among a number of people, but Mr. Kimura seems to be much more qualified to be director of the Ethnic Studies Program (laughter) than I. Maybe I should resign at this point and let Mr. Kimura take over. He's not only more experienced, he seems to have a great deal more energy than I do. If I retired and went to Kona, I could maybe absorb some of that and come back 80 years later, and be much more (laughs) qualified to do the job I'm supposed to be doing now.

I looked at the Kona slide show and the Waipi'o slide show. And I thought that was interesting that people felt that something about the soul, I guess, and feeling--and maybe, if we had interviewed Mr. Kimura earlier and included his comments, it would have made a difference--but I thought the slide presentations were good and very professionally done. The individualism, the independence, the entrepreneurship--those things that set Waipi'o and Kona apart from a lot of the plantation communities, I think, really came through--the strength that people had in developing that. One thought that I had, though, was that in that historical period when that individual strength was needed and was really an asset, turns out, in a different historical period, to be a liability. In one period when it's necessary to have the strength of people being a community--and there were the kumiais and so on in Kona--but people really worked on their own. They had their own five acres or three acres, and they worked very hard as individual family units. But when, as is happening now in Kona, there is a great need for the community to band together in a much more organized fashion, it seems to me, it's a little difficult to do that. There's such a strong tradition of individualism. This was true in Waipi'o, I think. And when, whether it's natural disasters or the necessity of trying to fight the overdevelopment and overextension into tourism or resort development, that it's not so easy for people to come together. In that sense, the strengths of individualism that existed before turned out now to be a weakness of the community. I don't want to overdo that theme, but I think that's something Kona people and all the people of Hawaii need to think about.

MK: Thank you, Franklin. And now, we have Dr. John Reinecke, who was a teacher at Konawaena School back in the 1920s. He's been involved

in this project from the beginning. John?

John Reinecke: Thank you. Well, I'll make my anecdote about Kona very short. The end of free sale of liquor is described very vividly. We had Prohibition when I came to Kona, but it wasn't taken entirely seriously. (Laughter) That's the first place that I ever got that drunk. (Laughter) But the students at Konawaena were debating on the merits of Prohibition. And one junior high boy said, "Prohibition is a failure! All the people of America drink! I know. I've seen 'em!" (Laughter)

Some of the reminiscenses we heard here tonight and, in particular, out of Mr. Mukaida, struck me very forcibly as showing how the native Hawaiians and the Japanese worked together in an emergency. There are hundreds of such anecdotes, I'm sure, that illustrate the spirit of Kona, and which have not been recorded. The oral history, which this team has so ably undertaken, only scratches the surface. None of us are getting younger, and I think there's a very great need to be our own oral historians, to tape--if we have tape recorders, and a great many families have them now--or to jot down notes about the life in Kona, as you remember it, as you heard it from members of your family.

The other thing that is needed, something we in Honolulu can't do--it's something for the people in Kona themselves--that's to start keeping records, keeping notes of the developments in Kona. Because the next ten years, I see as crucial. Whether Kona continues the tradition of which even a short-term resident like myself can be proud or whether Kona sort of flops and goes in every which direction.

MK: Thank you, John. I'm wondering now if we have any others in the audience who'd like to share their thoughts about Kona and the other areas they may have seen tonight in the other slide shows? We're particularly interested in hearing from the second, third, or fourth generations of people here. We've heard from the older generation, but how about some of you who seem to be under 30 years old or so? Nobody? We have one here, Faye? We have some young people here who are from the Captain Cook area, and I'd really like them to come up and share some of their thoughts with us. It's strange, you know, we showed our slide show Thursday evening in Kona, and now, someone from Captain Cook is here in Honolulu to participate.

Linda Paik: The one at Yano Hall?

MK: Uh huh, in your neighborhood in Captain Cook.

Linda: Well, I was born and raised in Captain Cook. I don't know, maybe some of you would know my parents. They're the Paiks from Kona. And there's only one of us around. I really don't have too much comments because I've been away for a long time, but I have

been born and raised there. I love to go back, and I'm very proud that I come from Kona. And I see, like in the slide shows, I watched the Haleiwa because I live there now, and the one big difference I see is that in Kona, we're really spread out. I mean, we had our communities like Captain Cook or whatever. We were very spread out. But we only had one high school, and being fed by all these different. . . . You know, like Hookena, you have a lot of the Hawaiians. And then, you went down this side. And Kealakekua, you had the majority were Japanese. But during high school time, we all came together. And there are a lot of memories. I really didn't grow up feeling like there was really a segregation amongst us. I guess, because of the fact, you know, there was only one outlet for all of us. But I was really proud to be born and raised there, as I said before, and someday, I'd like to go back, because it was a really wonderful lifestyle.

MK: Thank you, Linda. It's strange, but when we had our meeting there at Yano Hall Thursday night, we had to ask a Mr. Paik, who's in charge of the judo club there, to let us use his room, and he was so kind to let us do that so I thank you and your family for being so gracious. We still have some time for discussion. I'm wondering if anybody else would like to take the floor. Mr. Kurashige?

Clarence Kurashige: Well, since everybody is relating incidents, I thought I'd mention one of the incidents I experienced when I first came out from Kona to Honolulu as a graduate in high school in 1933. I attended University, and during the summer, some of us from Kona wanted to work the pineapple companies. So, four or us--Yoshio Inaba, Kango Ota, Shigeichi Nishihara and myself--took the bus, went down to Hawaiian Pine. Of course, at that time, right after school, there wasn't any summer work yet. So, we were wondering, how can we get a job here, you know? But anyway, we curious, so we walked around the fence on the side, and we found a hole. So, we sneaked through it and went to the warehouse. While walking through this warehouse, here comes this Japanese fellow. I still remember his name, Mr. Konno. Well, he happened to be the warehouse foreman. So, he says, "Hey, you boys! What are you boys doing in the warehouse?"

We said, "Oh, we're just University students. We want to get summer work."

"Where are you people from?"

We said, "Oh, we're from Kona."

And do you know, he said this: "Ooh, you boys are from Kona? Oh, Kona boys are good workers." (Laughter) "I'll give you boys reference. Go up to the personnel office, you'll get a job."

And you know, we got a job. Just because we were from Kona. And of course, when we started to work, we really produced. We all

worked hard because we had a reputation to uphold.

Regarding the Ethnic Studies, I thought, for the Kona portion, there's a good stress on the economic side of it, the commercial side of it. But I think the human interest side should be stressed a little more. Like when I recall my childhood days, I know, my father always used to say, when they first came to Hawaii to work in the sugar plantations, he felt that he's going to work a few years, save a little money, and then go back to Japan. But I think this is true with most of the first-generation Japanese who came here as contract laborers. They all felt like coming here, earning a few dollars, then going back to Japan. But they came here, got stuck here, had picture brides, had families (laughs), so they made their living here. But this is one of the human elements, I think, should be brought out in this study here. There seems to be some similarity between Waipi'o and Kona. The Waipi'o community is a secluded community. And I think Kona, on a bigger scale, is also a secluded community. As one of them mentioned, we have only one high school. And although we are from a huge area where even Oahu can fit into Kona, we still feel Kona is Kona. We don't think Kona is North Kona, South Kona. And this is one of the reasons why we have this Kona Club of Honolulu. We all feel we're together. I think this is the feeling should be brought out in this ethnic studies. As I recall my childhood days, I know, our parents didn't have much money. And while going to grammar grades, they used to have sumō events with every celebration, all over the place. For me to win some pencils, tablets, I used to go sumō from (laughs) ever since I started going to school. These are little things, but they're very important in our lives. Maybe these things can be brought out also. Because the people in Kona are very community minded. Even all of us here in Honolulu, we are from Kona, but we are all over this island. We hardly meet these people, maybe once a year or maybe once in ten years. But we have this Kona luau every year, and we get to meet Kona people. Somehow, I feel, and I think all of you feel that way, too, that when we come from Kona, we all together. We're the same 'ohana, as the Hawaiians say. I would like to see this study bring out that element. Thank you.

MK: Mr. Kurashige, thank you very much. We're very happy to have had one of his relatives contribute a lot of the photographs that we used in our slide shows, Mrs. Kikue Kurashige. And now, we'd like to close the program. But before we do so, I'd like to say a couple words.

Not too long ago, Mr. Usaku Morihara, the 97-year-old man that was instrumental in the debt adjustment in Kona, was here in Honolulu to visit his wife, who was very ill at that time. And on that occasion, his granddaughter and his great-granddaughter was visiting him at the hospital while he visited his wife. I talked to him in Japanese, and we were talking about the debt reduction. And then, I turned to his granddaughter and his great-granddaughter, and I said, "Oh, did you know your grandfather was involved in this kind of

activity? That he was instrumental in reducing the debts and helping to keep Kona coffee going for all this time?" And they said, "You know, kinda hard to talk to grandpa. We can't talk Japanese that well," or "We just don't have the opportunity to talk with him about old times." And at that point, I really felt kind of sad, because it seems so strange that people who are so close in terms of blood didn't know about each other. And so, in doing this project and collecting the photographs, it really brought home the idea that this kind of oral history is really needed here in Hawaii, where, because of language differences and generational differences, we don't talk to our grandparents or our grandchildren as much as they used to before. So, we ask that you people continue this type of study in your own way at home. And I think it'll mean a lot to the older person and a lot to the younger person, who'll realize that whatever he or she does every day will somehow contribute to the family history and to the history of Hawaii, itself.

Right now, I'd like to say thank you to you folks and to Faye Komagata and the Daifukuji Soto Mission, and their children, Daishu and Shuji, who put up with Warren and myself, who went to Kona no less than ten times for as long two weeks on a trip. They put up with us for a long time. We thank the people of Kona, and we thank the Kona Club of Honolulu, especially Mr. Kenji Goto, who's worked hard with us to make this a success. As you leave tonight, we ask that you leave your completed evaluation forms in a box near our door. But before you leave, we also ask you to consider whether or not you'd like to have a transcript volume set. You saw some samples near the door. And only if you are interested, please sign up if you want to have volumes of your own. They're going to cost about $60, and they're quite expensive. They'll be available at the libraries, so you can probably look at them there, but if, for some reason, you really want a set, just leave your name with us. It's no commitment to get a set. We just charge for the cost of reproduction, and we'd just like to know about how many copies to reproduce. And none of this is done for a profit.

And now, I'd like Haunani Apoliona and Haunani Bernardino to come up and do a song or two. Haunani was kind enough to do a song for the slide show.

Haunani Apoliona: Michiko asked if I could come up and say a few words, but we'd rather sing. And the song we're going to do is the song that was in the slide program. But before we do sing it, Haunani Bernardino will tell you a little bit about the song, "Kona Kai 'Ōpua."

Haunani Bernardino: She's the fingers, and I'm the voice. (Laughter) The song that you heard on the slide show is called "Kona Kai 'Ōpua I Ka La'i." And it refers to Kona sitting under a bed of clouds, and part of this setting includes a very peaceful, calm environment. And that's the kind of feeling I always have about Kona. So, the poetry goes, Ha'aheo Hawai'i i nā Kona. Hawaii is proud of its

people who come from Kona. Ka wai kau i ka maka o ka 'ōpua. That's where the rain comes from, from those clouds that hang above Hualalai, and it says Hualalai kau mai i luna, there is Hualalai standing very proudly. Hualalai kau mai i luna. . . . Ka heke ia o nā Kona. That is the sign, that is the symbol. It is the choice one for everybody who lives in Kona. He 'āina wela 'i'o nō 'o Kona. Kona is very hot. No two ways about it, it's a hot place. But it is blessed with this wind, 'Eka. 'Eka ka makani a'e 'olu ai. This is the wind that comes down, sweeps down, and brings coolness to the land. I've got to remember my words now. 'O ka pā kolonahe a ke kēhau i ka 'ili o ka malihini. This line is a continuation of that wind called 'Eka, and how it soothes even the skin of the visitors, so that even if you feel hot, you also feel welcomed. So, we'll sing the rest.

(Haunani Apoliona and Haunani Bernardino perform "Kona Kai 'Ōpua.")

MK: As other emcees in the past have said, thank you very much and drive home safely. Thank you.

END OF TAPE

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

NAME	OCCUPATION	AGE	SEX	VOL. NO
Abril, Bernabella	coffee picker, coffee farmer, storeowner, mother of 16 children	71	F	II
Agustin, Raymundo	plantation worker, ranch hand, coffee picker, coffee farmer	86	M	II
Alavado, Agustina	coffee picker, coffee farmer, wife of fisherman	90	F	II
Bala, Eugenio	coffee picker, ranch hand, janitor, pool hall operator	73	M	II
De Guair, John Sr.	truck driver, delivery person for gasoline company	82	M	II
Dinson, Severo	plantation worker, boxer, coffee farmer, dance hall operator	77	M	I
Egami, Yosoto	grafter for county extension service	71	M	I
Falconer, Rose	schoolteacher	91	F	I
Fuentevilla, Martina	part-time farmer, entertainer	72	F	II
Fukunaga, Edward	head of Kona-based agricultural experiment station	71	M	II
Giugni, Amoe	lau hala weaver	87	F	I
Greenwell, Sherwood R.H.	rancher, landowner, politician, businessman, nurseryman	62	M	I
Inaba, Minoru	bus driver, utilities worker, schoolteacher, school administrator, legislator, financial consultant	77	M	I
Iona, Fred	farmer of diversified produce	82	M	II
Ishida, William	accountant	78	M	I
Ka'eo, Gabriel	stone-wall builder, fisherman, farmer	78	M	I
Kālaiwa'a,"Nina"	coffee farmer, farmer of other produce	70	F	II

NAME	OCCUPATION	AGE	SEX	VOL. NO.
Kimura, Tsuruyo	*lau hala* store owner	73	F	II
Liau, Samuel	storeowner, butcher, bar owner, landholder	73	M	II
Manago, Osame	house servant, coffee sorter, owner of restaurant/hotel	90	F	II
Morihara, Usaku	cook, stock speculator, store-owner, coffee roaster/dealer	96	M	II
Noguchi, Yoshio	coffee miller	75	M	II
Okano, Kame	coffee farmer	92	F	I
Paris, William	rancher, landowner	58	M	II
Santana, Johnny	roadworker, laborer, coffee farmer, night watchman	74	M	I
Spinney, Margaret	coffee sorter, *lau hala* weaver	70	F	I
Suelto, Rufo	plantation worker, coffee picker/farmer	88	M	II
Sugimoto, Lloyd	Japanese-language school-teacher, Amfac employee	82	M	I
Takashiba, Yoshitaka	coffee farmer, macadamia nut farmer	68	M	I
Tanima, Kazo	coffee farmer, truck driver, farmer of other produce, coffee roaster	87	M	I
Tanouye, Minoru	coffee miller	89	M	I
Thompson, Willie	rancher, contractor, politician	78	M	I
Tsukahara, Torahichi	coffee farmer, coffee mill worker, ranch hand	91	M	II

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF KONA

1820 Two married couples, Protestant missionaries, take up residence in Kailua, Kona, determined to cover the land "with fruitful fields, pleasant dwellings, schools, and churches," marking the beginning of a small permanent community of *haoles* in Kona.[39]

1828 Rev. Samuel Ruggles, a missionary-teacher, brings the first coffee plants from Manoa Valley, Oahu, to Kona.[18]

1842 Hanalei Valley on Kauai is the site of the first serious effort to produce coffee commercially in Hawaii. About 1,000 acres of valley land under formal cultivation. From this Kauai plantation came the first coffee ever exported from Hawaii--about 245 pounds in 1845.[54]

1847 Two-week flood cripples Hanalei coffee plantation.[2]

1850s Coffee begun on a commercial scale in Kona by *haoles* from Europe and America. P. Cummings and Charles Hall were among the early coffee planters.[18]

Wages paid to native Hawaiians on coffee plantations in Kona is 20 cents in cash and 12-1/2 cents for food. Chinese receive 17 cents in cash and 16 cents for food.[18]

1851 Severe drought throughout the islands reduces coffee crop. This is followed by a blight. Leads to the final abandonment of the Hanalei (Kauai) coffee plantation, Mr. Rhodes selling the entire estate to R.C. Wyllie in 1856 for $8,000.[51]

1853 Population of Kona: 7,223[39]

Hawaiian	98.8%
Haole	0.5%
Part-Hawaiian	0.4%
Chinese	0.3%

1858 Coffee "blight," actually a white-scale insect, hits Kona coffee plants. Charles Hall, a coffee planter at Kainaliu, claims that prior to the "blight," he produced 18,000 pounds of coffee. In successive years his crop was reduced to 12,000 and 5,000 pounds, until in 1861, he actually had to buy coffee for his own use. This "blight" did not seem to do as much damage to trees in the shade or at higher elevations. However, it destroyed coffee plantations located mostly in the *ma kai* areas.[18]

1869 Kona's first sugar plantation started by Judge C.F. Hart. A small mill is erected, and a dozen horses are used to propel the rollers. The plantation, which covered 50 acres, was unprofitable and soon abandoned.[2]

1872 John Gaspar builds the first coffee mill at Napoopoo, Kona.[18]

1875 Dairying is main business of Kona's ranchers, because butter could be kept and eventually shipped to Honolulu. Prior to this, tallow and hides were the main products.[20]

1876 Reciprocity Treaty signed between Hawaii and the United States, leading to the rise of the sugar industry in Hawaii.[5]

1878 Population of Kona: 3,728

Hawaiian	93.4%
Part-Hawaiian	3.5%
Haole	1.7%
Chinese	1.2%
Other	0.2%
Portuguese	0.1%

39

1882 Pineapple is canned by Ackerman and Muller of North Kona. Shipping difficulties lead to eventual decline of the pineapple industry in Kona.[2]

1890 Population of Kona: 3,565

Hawaiian	80.9%
Part-Hawaiian	7.5%
Haole	4.2%
Chinese	3.5%
Portuguese	3.5%
Japanese	0.2%
Other	0.2%

39

1890s Hawaiian tariff of six cents per pound of coffee established, creating a sizeable island market. Several small plantations (numbering 151 in 1890) established by haoles, employing chiefly Hawaiian and Chinese as laborers, the Chinese numbering 93 males and 9 females.[38]

Two coffee plantations established by Chinese: Kona Coffee Co. at Kohanaiki, North Kona; the other located at Papa, South Kona.[18]

W.W. Brunner, who came to Kona as a road builder and then started a pineapple plantation, plays a large role in the development of South Kona. His pineapple company was eventually converted to a coffee mill by the Captain Cook Coffee Company. Brunner first planted about 100 acres of coffee at Captain Cook near the present Manago Hotel, but sold this plantation to Robert Wallace and planted another 200 acres in Honaunau.[18]

1891 Kona Coffee and Fruit Co. and the Hawaiian Tea and Coffee Co. organized. The latter operating 120 acres of coffee and 5 acres of tea in Kahaluu.[18]

Coffee industry flourishing:

Contracted wages on coffee plantations: 67-1/2 cents a day. Contracted wages on sugar plantations: $9 a month.[26a]

1893 A group of 40 Japanese contract coffee laborers brought to Kona directly from Japan.[18]

Ladybird beetle (ladybug) introduced from Australia to combat the white-scale insect. [18]

1896 South Kona Coffee Co. incorporated.[18]

1898 Boom stage: 6,393 acres of coffee in Kona alone. Of these acres, 555 are in South Kona. The rest in North Kona.[18]

Reference is made to the "large number of Japanese men from Hilo and Hamakua who have been deserting the plantations lately and coming here [Kona]."[38]

Hongwanji (Shinshu) Buddhist temple erected. First Japanese-language school in Kona established.[37]

Kona Sugar Company incorporated, consolidating under one control the 2,000 acres of scattered sugar lands in Kona.[38]

Price of butter declines and beef prices improve. The latter is due largely to the importation of Shorthorn and Holstein cattle, improving the herds.[20]

1899 The collapse of the world coffee market causes a shift from plantation cultivation under haole control to individual or family operations, with Japanese occupying most of the land as independent tenants or owners.[38]

1900 With annexation, the threat of a tariff on sugar shipped from Hawaii to the Mainland completely removed. Coffee fields outside of Kona increasingly being converted to sugar. Even in Kona, sugarcane is planted in some acres formerly in coffee. However, since most of Kona coffee is grown on land too rocky for sugarcane, the coffee industry continues.[18]

Population of Kona: 6,191[39]

Hawaiian	45.2%
Japanese	27.7%
Haole and Portuguese	12.1%
Part-Hawaiian	7.5%
Chinese	7.4%
Other	0.1%

Between 1884 and 1900, the foreign population increased from 174 to 1,928 persons. The influx of Japanese to Kona: 8 in 1890; 888 in 1896; 1,718 in 1900.[38]

1900s "Hawaiians plant taro, potatoes, bananas, and other food plants. Breadfruit, coffee, and oranges flourish. The shores are lined with coconut, which the Hawaiians use for food and a variety of other means. Fishing is their chief livelihood." 28

With better transportation between Kona and its beef market in Honolulu, and better slaughtering facilities there, ranching becomes economically practical. 20

1903-1904 The "horseless buggie," or automobile introduced to Kona.[28]

1908 Kona Tobacco Co., Ltd. begins operations. First year crop is 6,000 pounds. Second-year crop is 40,000 pounds. 48

Kona Development Co. formed as a sugar company. 2

1910 With continued low coffee prices, many Portuguese leave their leased coffee fields; and Japanese are now about the only growers left tending the coffee. 18

1912 Fire destroys Kona's tobacco crop. Prior to the fire, tobacco was an industry whose largest export was $95,000. 2

1914 Daifukuji Soto Buddhist Mission started in Honalo, Kona.[53]

1915 Central Kona Young Men's Association formed for the purpose of community service.[46]

1916 Wharf at Kailua enlarged in order to accomodate increasing freight shipments of coffee, sugar, and general cargo. 10

1917 During World War I, shipping shortages meant that coffee could not be shipped to the U.S. Mainland. Prices of imported goods soar. European coffee market collapses. 18

1918 Severe frost in Brazil destroys a large portion of the coffee crop there. The following year, normal shipping is resumed and Kona coffee prices rise above 20 cents a pound. 18

Kona Development Sugar Co. transfers ownership to a group of Japanese capitalists, the only instance of its kind in the islands.[38]

1919 Alika lava flow, which crossed the road north of Papa, Kona, flows for three weeks at Alika.[46]

1920 Outbreak of "Spanish flu" in Kona. Affects nearly three-fourths of Kona's people and claims 83 lives.[46]

1920s American Factors markets Kona coffee under brand name, Mayflower.[54]

1922 Seven Japanese-language schools established between 1908 and 1922. Eight altogether now operating in Kona. 37

1925 Boom time for Kona coffee. Eight hundred new coffee acreages established between 1925 and 1930. Filipinos begin arriving in Kona from sugar plantations to harvest the coffee. Kona residents are also hired by farmers to fill the labor need.[18]

1926 Kona Development Sugar Co. ceases operations, marking the end of commercial cultivation of sugar in Kona. At no time did the company's exports exceed 3,000 tons. After the last crop was harvested, some of the lands were diverted to coffee.[38 & 2]

Lava flow destroys the fishing village of Hoopuloa, Kona.[46]

1928 Boom year for Kona coffee. Prices up so high (28 cents a pound) that Kona is considered the most prosperous district in the Hawaiian Islands. One-acre lease holdings selling for $1,000 and the export totals $1,938,595.[43 & 2]

Central Kona Kyowai Kai formed by H. Araki. Consisting of 10 kumiais (approximately 150 families), its purpose is "to have the Japanese tenants residing in Central Kona and their landlords profit jointly, and together they shall guard their rights and interests and shall promote the general welfare."[46]

1929 During the boom years prior to the Depression, credit was readily given to coffee farmers. High coffee prices give everyone a feeling of limitless prosperity. Costly improvements on farms made, machinery bought, and new homes established.[27 a]

Stock market crash causes world coffee prices to tumble. Because Kona's economy is dependent on the world coffee situation, and Kona's coffee is being produced by small-scale, independent farmers, the effect of the crash is probably more quickly experienced in Kona than elsewhere in the territory. Farmers who had borrowed heavily, expanded their acreage, and improved their machinery during the boom years find themselves heavily in debt.[38]

The freighter Humuula is added to the fleet of the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co., carrying passengers, freight, and cattle to and from the ports at Kailua, Kawaihae, and other ports.[10]

1930 Population of Kona: 9,405

Japanese	51.5%
Hawaiian	14.3%
Filipino	11.9%
Part-Hawaiian	10.4%
Other	4.6%
Portuguese	3.8%
Chinese	1.5%
Haole	1.3%

[39]

Kona Branch Station of the University of Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station, which operates under the joint supervision of the University and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is established. The branch station's work on coffee focuses upon soils, fertilizers, pruning, and variety improvement. Other crops benefiting from the Kona Branch Station's experiments are the litchi, macadamia nut, papaya, avocado, taro, banana, cinchona, and, on behalf of the cattle industry, feeds and forages. [6]

Approximately 50 percent of all the improved farm land in Kona belongs to Bishop Estate, which leases the land for 5- to 20-year periods to individuals. [38]

1931 Official rat campaign begins in Kona. Coffee farmers raise $3,000 for this campaign. [46]

1932 Ninety-five percent of all coffee grown in Kona is shipped to the Mainland. [27b]

Additional labor is sought to relieve shortage caused by failure of the usual 1,000 Filipinos to arrive from plantations to pick coffee. Possible reasons: 1) warning by plantations to Filipino laborers that they would not be taken back at the end of the coffee season; 2) cut in wages paid to transient pickers from 75 cents to 50 cents per bag. [27c]

School coffee schedule inaugurated. Kona students pick a total of 25,320 bags during their "summer" vacation period between October and December. [2]

There are 160 acres in macadamia nut trees in Kona. Japanese own 60 of these acres, with the remainder owned by Hawaiian Macadamia Nut Co. [27d]

There are 1,077 coffee farms in Kona, covering 5,498 acres. The farms range in size from 3 to 30 acres, with the average size being 5 acres. Ethnic breakdown of farm owners: Japanese, 959; Filipinos, 58; Hawaiians, 20; Puerto Ricans, 20; Koreans, 10; Portuguese, 10. [27d]

1935 Coffee-picking price set at 50 cents per bag. Farmers seeking profitable industries aside from coffee. Lau hala weaving and chicken raising mentioned as possibilities. [46]

As Kona's population grows and freight and passenger traffic to Honolulu increases, the steamer Mauna Loa is replaced by the Kilauea, which is larger and faster. [10]

Approximately 45 stores exist along Kona's main road. [38]

Two company mills--Captain Cook at Napoopoo, and American

Factors at Kailua--are the largest in Kona and together control at least 60 percent of the entire Kona coffee crop.[38]

1936 C.H. Finlayson, one of Hawaii's first sport fishermen, puts his two cabin cruisers, the Malia and the Aukaka, into charter service. These boats were in operation until beginning of World War II when all fishing was suspended.[9]

Kona Farmers' Federal Credit Union organized with 75 members.[46]

1937 Coffee prices plunge to 4-1/2 cents per bag. World market is glutted. In Brazil, growers burn millions of bags of coffee.[27e]

Shortage of coffee pickers anticipated due to low value of coffee in recent months. Many Kona residents have left to work elsewhere. Many older youths have left to enter Civilian Conservation Corps camps.[27f]

Chronic labor shortage in coffee lands. Students discouraged from working in pineapple canneries. Kona coffee work is advertised in English, Japanese, and Filipino languages.[46]

The area under cultivation in coffee declines from 6,000 acres in 1930 to 5,000 acres in 1937.[38]

Students of the five elementary schools in Kona--Holualoa, Honaunau, Honokohau, Keauhou, and Napoopoo--make possible $31,500 in labor savings to coffee farmers by picking coffee during the season. In addition, students log 82,000 hours hoeing, pulping and drying, and fertilizing at 15 cents an hour. Their work saves coffee farmers a total of $44,100.[2]

Out of the 289 graduates of Konawaena High School between 1930 and 1937, only 8 percent become coffee farmers. A total of 103 are now living in Honolulu.[2]

Falling coffee prices and overdue loans cause many farmers to mortgage their farms. The majority of coffee farms are now mortgaged for 10 to 20 years. During this period, farmers' credit is restricted and credit allowances at the stores are cut.[27a]

According to a survey by the Kona Civic Club, during the years 1934-36, the average annual debt incurred by a coffee farmer (on a five-acre farm) was $436.22.[27a]

Due to "extremely" low coffee prices, Territorial House members pass bill exempting coffee growers from real and personal property taxes for 1937 and 1938. The House finance committee recommends passage of the bill with the understanding that owners of coffee lands will reduce their rents in an amount equal to the tax exemption granted by the territory, and that coffee purchasers

will declare a moratorium on past debts.[27g]

1938 Total acreage in coffee: 4,372
Total number of farms: 647
Average acreage per farm: 6.75
Total present indebtness: $1,150,000
Average debt per farm: $1,777

Survey of young people in Kona:
Full-time coffee farmers: 18
Assisting parents: 42
Part-time coffee farm helpers: 18
Left coffee farms since 1934: 331
of whom,
remaining in Kona: 153
left Kona: 178
Those who left Kona are at present distributed as follows:
Honolulu: 70
Plantations on Big Island: 43
Non-plantation on Big Island: 45
Maui: 7
Plantations on Oahu: 2
Mainland: 5
Molokai: 2
Lanai: 4
14

Cotton being grown at 3,000-feet elevation in Kona. In Kailua, cotton is grown among lantana bushes. There was, at one time, a great demand from Japan for Kona cotton, but the output was too low.[2]

Cotton, oranges, macadamia nuts, and coffee are Kona's main agricultural industries, but only coffee can create enough business and income for the needs of the inhabitants.[2]

Kona farmers are purchasing $5,000 worth of vegetables from Waimea and Volcano sections annually.[2]

150 Kona coffee farmers receive loans totaling $100,000 from the Farm Security Administration, provided the farmers agree to diversify their crops. Under the terms of the loan, farmers will have two to five years to repay, at a 5 percent interest rate.[27h]

Coffee acreage decreases by 10 percent since 1935. The number of coffee farmers decreases from 1,200 in 1929, to 700 in 1935, and to 640 in 1938. Average age of Kona coffee farmer--55 years.[2]

Representatives of farmers, merchants, and community organizations negotiate with American Factors to reduce debts. The total debt of the 650 coffee farmers in Kona is $1,100,000 ($895,000 to

stores; $168,000 to banks; $8,700 to individuals)[46]

1939 Julian R. Yates, West Hawaii supervisor: "Kona coffee cannot reach first base . . . Small merchant buyers must be cut out, and scattered mills consolidated or relinquished. . . . If it had been anyone but Japanese, Kona coffee would have been abandoned long ago. . . . It might satisfy the old farmers to stay on the mortgaged farms . . . but the young people are continuously leaving the district which has been indifferent to their needs. I have a plan I have thought about for five years. It is developing the tourist trade in Kona, and before the legislature is over, you will hear a lot about it."[27i]

Julian R. Yates, West Hawaii supervisor: "Farmers must go into diversified farming to produce vegetables. . . . It is lamentable that a farming district like Kona purchases $20,000 worth of vegetables from the outside. . . . One handicap is this--landowners of Kona hang onto their lands, acres of good, tillable land, and do nothing with them. The most some do is to turn them to grazing. But most plots grow only guava and lantana bushes . . . yet they aren't for sale."[27j]

Territorial legislature grants tax exemption on coffee lands for a period of 10 years, provided the parchment price of coffee remains less than 10 cents a pound.[46]

Under an act of the 1934 legislature, virtually all landowners in the Kona coffee growing sections have sharply reduced rent to coffee growers, obtaining thereby a corresponding reduction in territorial taxes.[27j]

Debt adjustment effort successful. Coffee farmers relieved by reduction of old debts.[27j]

A study of Central Kona indicates that within the past 10 years, 119 young people (14 percent of total young population) left Central Kona. Of these, 72 percent came to Honolulu. Other sections of Kona have an even greater number of young people leaving.[26b]

Kona Farmers' Federal Credit Union changes its name to Kona Community Federal Credit Union. Membership now open to non-farmers.[46]

1940 Population of Kona: 7,948

Japanese	52.7%
Part-Hawaiian	16.3%
Hawaiian	12.5%
Filipino	9.4%
Haole and Portuguese	5.4%
Other	3.0%
Chinese	1.6%

There are 600 coffee farmers on 4,500 acres of land in Kona. In 1930, there were 1,077 farmers on 5,500 acres. Therefore, in 10 years of the depression, 1,000 acres of coffee lands were abandoned, and 400 farmers left the coffee industry. Many of the abandoned coffee lands were taken over by neighboring farmers.[46]

Coffee ranks as the seventh largest industry in the territory, behind sugar, pineapple, cattle, hogs, poultry, and fruits and vegetables.[46]

Parchment coffee price: 5 cents a pound, compared to 21 cents in 1928.[46]

Coffee prices hit an unprecedented low. Over 1,000 acres of coffee abandoned in the 10 years since the price crash. Another 1,500 acres are to be abandoned before the boom following World War II.[18]

1941 Bombing of Pearl Harbor. United States enters World War II.

With the start of World War II, Japanese fishermen who had controlled the industry are prevented by the government to engage in commercial fishing.[33]

1942 In order to help relieve the labor shortage, 94 high school boys from Hilo and other Big Island schools are recruited to help harvest this year's coffee crop. Oren E. Long, superintendent of public instruction: "The army has bought the entire coffee crop and are cooperating splendidly in an effort to save as much of it as possible, claiming that coffee is essential and should be made part of the war effort in production."[26c]

Office of the military governor increases the price of parchment coffee by 3/4 cents a pound, citing high labor costs and low ceiling prices as primary reasons.[26d]

1943 Robert Hind of Puuwaawaa Ranch rebuilds an old landing wharf at Keauhou into a fishing wharf.[33]

During war years, Kailua practically without steamer service. Shippers forced to bring in their freight by truck from Hilo.[10]

1945 Ninety-five percent of the entire fishing industry in Kona is handled by Hawaiians, the remaining 5 percent by Filipinos. Some 60 to 75 Hawaiian families depend upon fishing as their chief source of income.[33]

About 85 percent of the lau hala goods furnished by the entire territory comes from Kona. Lau hala plaiting has created a $20,000 a month industry in Kona. Seventy-five percent of the lau hala articles are manufactured by Japanese.[32]

Following World War II, coffee prices rise, creating a boom period which would last until 1958. [54]

1946 Democratic party precinct clubs started in Kona. [17]

1947 Results of poll taken among Kona coffee growers regarding Kona's school schedule:
Favor present schedule: 54.8%
Favor present schedule with some modifications: 15.2%
Adopting regular schedule: 30.0% [26e]

1949 Despite rising coffee prices on the U.S. Mainland, this year's crop is estimated to be 50 to 75 percent below normal output. [27k]

Price of parchment coffee reaches a high of 28 cents a pound. [27e]

1950 Median family income:
North Kona: $1,157
South Kona: $1,141
Entire Hawaii County: $2,341
Honolulu: $3,179 [38]

Generally depressed housing situation in Kona, compared with most other areas on the Big Island. Almost half of the dwelling units have no electricity, well over half no refrigerator equipment, and 38 percent no running water. [38]

Governor Stainback signs bill appropriating $300,000 to begin the nucleus of a water development project for Kona. [19]

1951 Approximately 18,400 tourists visit Kona. [38]

Heavy earthquake hits South Kona--damage is estimated at $1 million. Most of the damage occurs in a 35-mile stretch between Milolii and Kealakekua. [27l]

1952 Bishop Estate trustees create a land control and development division as a first step in a long-range program to turn wastelands into productive small farms. Recent developments in land clearing, machinery, and herbicide control chemicals have made this goal possible. Primary emphasis will be on the Kona area, where Bishop Estate owns about 2,000 acres. Future Kona lands will be devoted to truck farming, coffee, macadamia nuts, dryland taro, dairies, and pasture lands. [27m]

1953 Frost in Brazil contributes to further rise in coffee prices. [18]

New concrete and steel wharf built at Kailua. [10]

1954 Democratic party in Kona begins to emerge. Harry Tanaka and Helene Hale are among Kona's Democratic party leaders. [17]

The Territorial Highway Department cancels plans for a new, modern highway at Kailua, in order to preserve the "historic flavor" of the town. The federal-aid highway was to cost $300,000 and run between Hulihee Palace and the Kailua Wharf.[27n]

Henry J. Kaiser begins plans for developing Kona into a tourist resort area to "rival Waikiki." Kaiser said the plan "unfortunately involves moving the airport," which is on land currently owned by the territory. A total of 2,000 jobs will be created.[27o]

Developments in Brazil cause world-wide coffee shortage, resulting in high prices, and promising prosperity for Kona coffee farmers for the next few years.[27p]

1955 The 1954-55 Kona coffee crop is the most valuable in history--averaging 67 cents per pound of green coffee.[27q]

New Kona Palms Hotel and the adjoining Marlin Club is dedicated.[27r]

1956 Approximately 40,000 tourists visit Kona, compared to 18,400 in 1951.[38]

The 1955-56 coffee crop drops to an average of 64-1/2 cents per pound of green coffee.[27s]

1957 Coffee farmers once again faced with labor shortage. Kona's 5,000 coffee acres, worth $3,000 an acre, will need 5,000 pickers this season--1,000 of which will have to come from outside Kona. Housing is a critical factor in the labor shortage. Another factor is the rising minimum wage: 85 cents an hour this year, rising to $1.00 an hour in 1958.[27s]

Green Kona coffee prices are 57 cents per pound.[27s]

Coffee is the third leading crop produced in the territory, behind sugar and pineapple, and accounts for 5.2% of the total value of crop sales.[23]

1958 A record-breaking coffee output of almost 15 million pounds valued at $7 million is reported.[47]

Following a period of prosperity between 1950 and 1958, another bad period begins as coffee prices drop again.[38]

1959 Twelve coffee mills, including Captain Cook and AmFac--the two largest--are in operation in Kona.[38]

Statehood.

late 1950s — Takeshi and Takumi Kudo organize Sunset Coffee Co-op. Takeshi Kudo also instrumental in setting up Kona Coffee Assn. as industry promotional arm.[54]

1960 — Both North and South Kona lag considerably behind Hawaii county as a whole in the condition of its housing, with 18.9 percent being classified as "dilapidated" as compared with 9.3 percent in the entire county.[38]

Median family income:
North Kona: $3,944
South Kona: $3,787
Entire Hawaii County: $4,866
Honolulu: $6,366[38]

1961 — The Kona District Committee of Rural Areas Development is organized and plans are drawn up to deal with the economic situation of Kona: 1) guava, poha and lilikoi processing; 2) lau hala products; 3) fresh fish marketing; 4) apartment-hotel and tourist development; 5) avocado marketing; 6) feasibility of a sewerage system; 7) coffee-mill cooperatives.

Huehue Ranch of North Kona, owned by the Stillman family, is sold for $6 million to the Kona Corporation, a firm made up of local and Mainland interests.[26f]

1963 — Much of the land owned by the state is being leased to the large cattle ranches.[38]

American Factors sells its coffee milling facility to the Sunset Coffee Cooperative, headed by Takeshi Kudo. With this purchase, and the recent purchase of Captain Cook Company, Sunset can now service all coffee farmers in Kona.[24]

The first commercially produced instant Kona coffee goes on sale, marketed under the brand name "Spice Club."[27t]

1964 — Kona Corporation unable to meet payments on recently-purchased Huehue Ranch, loses possession; and the 15,000-acre ranch is up for sale once again.[26g]

Since the Emergency Farm Loan Program for coffee farmers began in 1961, 159 loans totaling $413,471 have been made.[27u]

1966 — Huehue Ranch, the largest chunk of fee-simple property in North Kona, is sold for $6 million to Bellvue Cattle Company of Beverly Hills, California. The new owners will continue cattle ranching on the land but are exploring the possibility of putting a hotel on a part of the land fronting the ocean. The 15,000-acre ranch will be used as follows:
6,000 acres - cattle;
4,000 acres - long-term development;
5,000 acres - sold to the public in fee-simple parcels.

A big development project, including beachfront hotels, a golf course, and ranchero sites is planned for the property.[26h]

Acres harvested in coffee, 1966: 4,710
Acres harvested in coffee, 1960: 5,000
Acres harvested in macadamia nuts, 1966: 490
Acres harvested in macadamia nuts, 1960: 350
Acres harvested in bananas, 1966: 265
Acres harvested in bananas, 1960: 70 [38]

Approximately 137,000 tourists visit Kona in 1966, compared to 40,000 in 1956 and 18,400 in 1951.[38]

Between 1960 and 1966, coffee production in Kona declines from 12 million pounds to 7.7 million pounds, with a corresponding drop in the value of the crop.[38]

1967 Three coffee mills remain in Kona, compared to 12 in 1959.[38]

Sixty cattle ranches presently exist in Kona. Haoles generally are owners or managers of the large ranches, while Portuguese or part-Hawaiians run the smaller ones. The majority of the employed cowboys and ranch hands are Portuguese or part-Hawaiians.[38]

1968 In an attempt to help revive the Kona coffee industry, the Department of Agriculture will undertake a new grading project which will serve to upgrade the quality of Kona coffee.[27v]

1969 Kona school coffee schedule ends.[27w]

The Pacific and Sunset cooperatives enter into an agreement with the Superior Tea and Coffee Company of Illinois in which the entire green coffee crop produced by member farmers of both co-ops would be purchased by the company.[23]

Major landholders of Kona:
- Bishop Estate
- State of Hawaii
- McCandless heirs
- Yee Hop, Ltd.
- Stillman Trust (Huehue Ranch)
- W.H. Greenwell, Ltd.
- Dillingham Corp.
- Kealakekua Ranch (S. Greenwell)
- Queen Lili'uokalani Trust
- Frank R. Greenwell (Palani Ranch) [13]

1972 There are 635 coffee farmers in Kona, 98 of whom are members of the Pacific Coffee Cooperative, and 537 of whom are members of the Sunset Coffee Cooperative. One hundred eighty-two are full-time farmers.[23]

Size of farms (average, in acres)

	ma uka	ma kai	total
Pacific Co-op members	10.2	8.8	9.4
Sunset Co-op members	5.5	7.8	6.4
Entire industry	6.0	8.0	6.8

23

Three largest landholders in coffee in Kona:

Bishop Estate: owns a total of 6,800 acres in North and South Kona; 2,350 of which are planned to be retained in productive agriculture, and are for the most part presently in coffee.

Greenwell Estate (Sherwood R.H. Greenwell): 198.95 acres in coffee. At one time this estate had 500 acres in coffee.

Dillingham Corp.: 275 acres in coffee [23]

Forty-nine percent of all coffee farms in Kona have alternate crops. [23]

On a steady decline since 1957, the coffee industry now accounts for only 0.6 percent of the total value of crop sales in Hawaii. Between 1964 and 1972, there has been an average 8 percent per annum decline in production. [23]

1974 Sherwood R.H. Greenwell, manager of Kealakekua Ranch: "It's sad, but it [coffee] hasn't got any future . . . it's pau." There are still 86 acres of his ranch leased to coffee farmers today, a fraction of the peak 600 acres. He also says that 51 acres will be lost within five years and that 11 acres are designated for residential development. [26 i]

Norman Carlson, Bishop Land agent: 2,350 acres on agricultural lease in Kona involve only about 40 percent coffee cultivation. [26 i]

D.M. Fraser, general manager, Dillingham Investment: Dillingham has 200 acres leased out, about half of which is operated as coffee land. "The industry is definitely dying . . . It doesn't look like much of this ever again will be planted in coffee." [26i]

Yoshio Noguchi, manager, Pacific Cooperative: He anticipates that his mill, smaller in volume than Sunset's, will lose 50 percent of its crop in five years. [26 i]

Coffee prices dramatically rise to 76 cents a pound, more than double the average price of 34.6 cents during 1971-72 season. Superior Coffee and Tea now purchases entire Kona coffee crop each year at a premium of five cents per pound over established world markets. [27 x]

Despite high coffee prices, the industry is still facing financial

decline. The high cost and scarcity of labor are two important reasons for the decline. Alternative employment opportunites outside of agriculture, particularly in tourism and construction, pay wages that the labor-intensive coffee industry cannot afford. [3]

The average Bishop Estate lease fee per acre is adjudged to $46 per acre, including taxes. [3]

1980 Morris Kimura, principal of Konawaena High School, observes that 12 years ago there were perhaps only 10 haoles in the high school. Today, haoles make up the largest ethnic group among the more than 1,200 students, about 30 percent. Followed by 25 percent Hawaiian, 23 percent Japanese, and 18 percent Filipino. [27y]

The growth of Kailua town (from 365 people in 1960 to almost 4,500 in 1980) and at Keauhou has made North Kona the Big Island's fastest-growing district. From 4,832 residents in 1970 to 13,789 in 1980--this makes a 185 percent increase. On the other hand, South Kona "faces a future of slow growth with ranches, fishing villages, macadamia orchards, dwindling coffee groves, considerable marijuana, small farms, and the role of a bedroom community for people who work in the North Kona tourism and business areas." [27y]

A plan for a regional shopping center proposed by Lanihau Corp. in Kailua-Kona wins approval from the State Land Use Commission. Dillingham Land Corporation will construct the shopping center on 25.8 acres of land. The commission has approved reclassification of the land from agricultural to urban use. [27z]

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GLOSSARY

The following words and phrases are non-English terms. Non-English is defined here as any lexical item not found in the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Ltd., 1975), although there are a few instances where an uncommon word that appears in the American Heritage Dictionary is also included in this glossary.

The letters in parentheses after each word indicate its language family:

C - Chinese
F - Filipino
H - Hawaiian
J - Japanese
Pi - "Pidgin" English
S - Spanish

References for the definitions used in this glossary include the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language; Maria V. Bunye and Elsa P. Yap's Cebuano-Visayan Dictionary (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971); Ernesto Constantino's Ilokano Dictionary (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971); Brian Dutton, L.P. Harvey and Roger M. Walker's Cassell's New Compact Spanish Dictionary (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1970); Koh Masuda's Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, Ltd., 1974); Andrew N. Nelson's The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966); Mary Pukui and Samuel Elbert's Hawaiian Dictionary (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1977); and Teresita Ramos' Tagalog Dictionary (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1975).

In some instances, the spellings and definitions could not be found in these references but were provided by ESOHP staff members, University of Hawaii Hamilton Library staff members, Tachikawa Japanese Language School, Larry L. Kimura and Bill Wilson of the Indo-Pacific Languages Department, staff members of the East Asian Languages Department, or the interviewee in whose transcript the word appears. Such words are asterisked (*).

The following "pidgin" English words are not defined in the glossary:

bin - precedes a verb and indicates past tense
bugga - usually a person, but also an animal or an inanimate object
bumbai - by and by; later on
da kine - "what you might call," "this stuff," "thingness"
mo' betta - better
no 'nough - not enough
nowdays - nowadays
shee - mild exclamation, like "gee"

spam - span
wen - precedes a verb and indicates past tense

The following definitions apply to the lexical terms as they appear in the context of the transcripts.

'ā (H) fire; to burn
'a'ā (H) rough lava
a'ama (H) a large, edible crab that runs over shore rocks
abajo (S) under(neath); below
aburage (J) fried bean curd
'ahi (H) yellow-fin tuna
'āhina (H) blue denim cloth; dungarees
ahupua'a (H) land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
aikāne (H) friend; friendly
'āina (H) land, earth
'akī'aki'ia (H) fallen coffee losing its outer skin, possibly because of birds or insects*; *lit.*, to nibble.
aku (H) bonito, skipjack
akule (H) big-eyed or goggle-eyed scad fish
'ala'ala (H) liver of squid or cuttlefish
alanui (H) street, road, highway, thoroughfare, course
ali'i (H) chief, ruler
aloha (H) love, affection, compassion, mercy, pity, kindness, charity; greeting, regards
'ama'u (H) See ma'u
araiboko (J) semi-processed coffee*
araimo (J) Japanese taro*
arriba (S) above, over, overhead
a'u (H) swordfish, sailfish, marlin, spearfish
'awa (H) the kava, the root being the source of a narcotic drink of the same name used in ceremonies, prepared formerly by chewing, later by pounding
'awapuhi (H) wild ginger
awase (J) a lined Japanese garment
'āweoweo (H) various Hawaiian species of *Priacanthus*, red fishes, sometimes called Bigeye
ay (F) an exclamatory expression of astonishment or disgust; (ah, oh, alas)
azuki (J) sweet red beans used for fillings or desserts

baduya (F) kind of native rice cake which is flat and round
bagoong (F) salted, fermented fish used for seasoning
bakalaw (F) codfish
balitao (F) a dance where the man and woman sing in courtship*
bangō (J) number assigned to plantation workers as a means of accounting and identification*
bā-san (J) See obā-san
bentō (J) lunch; a box lunch
bibingka (F) a kind of thick, flat and round cake made of glutinous rice
Bon (J) Buddhist's All Saint's Day; Lantern Festival; Festival of the Dead
Bon odori (J) a Bon Festival dance
Bon-san (J) a Buddhist priest*
butsudan (J) a household (family) Buddhist altar

cara y cruz (F) a game where one flips coins in the air*
centavo (S) monetary unit, hundredth
chicharo (S) pea
Ch'ing Ming (C) a family memorial service held in the spring*
chō (J) 1. approximately 2.5 acres; approximately 119.3 yards 2. the head; the chief; the leader
chokugo (J) an Imperial rescript; a speech from the Throne
chow fun (C) fried Chinese noodle and vegetable dish*
chūgaku (chūgakko) (J) a lower secondary school; a junior high school

daikon (J) a radish
dango (J) a dumpling
demo (J) even [used as intensive]

ebi (J) a lobster, a prawn, a shrimp
'ēheu (H) rim of a hat (same as 'ēkeu)
'eke (H) sack, pocket, bag, bag-shaped fish net; scrotum

'ēkeu (H) See 'ēheu
'ekewai'u (H) certain portion of traditional 'ōpelu fishing net*
'ele'ele (H) See naioea. Also, a cooking banana valued for shiny black skin of trunk, used for designs worked into pandanus mats and hats
'elepaio (H) a species of flycatcher with subspecies on Big Island. This bird was believed to be the goddess of canoe makers.
erai (J) colloquial expression, meaning tiring*

fu (J) wheat-gluten bread
fude (J) a writing brush
fujin-kai (J) a women's society (association)
fukujin-zuke (J) sliced vegetables pickled (preserved) in soy sauce
funa (J) a crucian (carp)
furisode (J) long (hanging) sleeves; a long sleeved kimono
furo (J) hot tub; bath
fusai seiri (J) debt adjustment*; *lit.*, fusai=a debt, liabilities, dues; seiri=(re)arrangement, (re)adjustment, regulation, consolidation
futon (J) bedding; comforter

gaijin (J) a foreigner; an alien
ganzume (J) a coal-trimming rake
gari-gari (J) noisily; scratch; crunch; munch
gassen (kassen) (J) a battle; an encounter
gatan,gatan (J) onomatopoeia for jolting; with a bang, bump
geisha (J) a Japanese woman trained to provide entertainment, such as singing, dancing, or amusing talk, especially to men
gobō (J) a burdock
goro-goro (J) rolling; rumbling; thundering
Gotan-e (J) celebration of Shinran Shōnin's birthday, held in May*
goza (J) a straw mat; matting
gun (J) a county; suburban (rural) districts
gurai (J) about; almost; approximately

hachimaki (J) a headband; a frontlet
hakama (J) divided skirt for men's formal wear
hala (H) the pandanus or screw pine native from Southern Asia east to Hawaii, both cultivated and wild
hale ali'i (H) chief's house, royal residence, palace
hana-fuda (J) Japanese playing cards; flower cards
hana hana (H) Reduplication of hana, work*
hānai (H) foster child, adopted child; foster, adopt
hanamatsuri (J) the anniversary of the birth of Buddha; Buddha's birthday festival
hanami (J) flower viewing
hānau (H) to give birth
hanawai (H) irrigation; to irrigate
haole (H) white person, American, Englishman, Caucasian. Formerly, any foreigner
haole-hapa (H) See hapa-haole
haori (J) a Japanese half-coat
hapa-haole (H) part-white person; of part-white blood; part-white and part-Hawaiian, as an individual or phenomenon
hāpai (H) to carry, lift, elevate, raise
hāpai kō (H) carrying sugarcane*
hāpu'u (H) an endemic tree fern, common in many forests in Hawaii
harakiri (J) suicide by disembowelment*; *lit.*, hara=abdomen, the belly; kiri=to cut
hatake (J) a cultivated field; a farm; a kitchen garden
hau (H) a lowland tree, some spreading horizontally over the ground forming impenetrable

thickets, found in many warm countries

hāuliuli (H) a fish sometimes called the snake mackerel

haupia (H) pudding formerly made of arrowroot and coconut cream

hē'ī (H) 1. the papaya 2. Martina Fuentevilla's term for a native vine whose stem was used for twine and for fish traps, a possible variation of huehue*

heiau (H) pre-Christian place of worship, some were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces

heiwa (J) peaceful; harmonious

hekka (J) meat and vegetable dish*

helele'i (H) falling; scattered, as rain, tears, grain; crumbling, as the earth

hemo (H) to husk, hull, strip

hichi (J) seventh

hi'iaka (H) a variety of sweet potato

hīnālea (H) small to moderate-sized, brightly colored wrasses

hirahira (J) colloquial pronunciation of ira-ira, meaning uncomfortable embarrassment*

hiroma (J) a hall

hitoe(mono) (J) an unlined (summer) kimono

hiwa (H) entirely black, as of pigs offered to the gods, a desirable blackness

hō hana (H) *lit.*, field work with a hoe*

hokkigai (J) a surf clam

holehole (H) reduplication of hole; to strip, as to strip sugarcane leaves from the stalk

holoholo (H) to go for a walk, ride or sail; to go out for pleasure

hōmongi (J) a visiting dress; a gala dress

honohono (H) short for honohono-kuki, the basket grass; the wandering Jew or dayflower

hontō (J) true; real; actual

ho'omaha (H) vacation; to take a rest or vacation; to retire; stop work; to obtain relief

Hōonkō (J) memorial services for Shinran Shōnin, held in January*

hope (H) behind; back, rear

hoshidana (J) coffee-drying platform*

hotoke(-sama) (J) the Buddha; the deceased; the departed soul

huamoa (H) chicken egg

huhū (H) angry, offended, scolding

hui (H) club; association

huki (H) to pull

hukilau (H) a seine, to fish with the seine; *lit.*, pull ropes

hula (H) the hula, a hula dancer; to dance the hula

huli (H) 1. to turn, to curl over, to change; to overturn 2. taro top, as used for planting

humuhumu (H) trigger fish

hūpēkole (H) running nose, to sniffle

hyaku (J) a hundred

'ia (H) particle marking passive/imperative (sometimes written as a part of modified word)

'ie'ie (H) an endemic woody, branching climber growing luxuriantly in forests

iheihe (H) any of several halfbeaks (i.e., marine and freshwater fishes related to the flying fishes, and having the lower jaw extended beyond the upper jaw)

'ihi (H) wood sorrels (*Oxalis*), some of which are used medicinally

iholena (H) a favorite and common native variety of banana, eaten raw or cooked

'ilio (H) dog

ima (J) the present; now

ima demo (J) even now; still; as yet

imu (H) underground oven

'ina (H) young of the sea urchin

inekari (J) harvesting of rice
'inia (H) a tree from the Old World, naturalized in Hawaii, with much-divided fernlike leaves, and large clusters of purplish flowers and fruits like golden balls
'i'o (H) flesh, meat, flesh and blood, muscle, substance
ipil (F) a leguminous tree which yields valuable timber
ipu (H) crown of a hat
ipu'awa (H) a variety of gourd with bitter-tasting pulp, used medicinally
ipu'olo (H) *lit.*, ipu=the bottle gourd; 'olo=long gourd container used as a receptacle; long body of a gourd used as a hula drum; scrotum
iriko (J) a dried, small sardine
iroha (J) the Japanese syllabary
issei (J) a Japanese immigrant to the United States or Canada; *lit.*, first generation
isshō (J) one shō (shō=0.447 U.S. gallon)
'iwa'iwa (H) a small, high-mountain fern, with shiny, brown stems and triangular or ovate, subdivided, stiff fronds
iwi (H) stones or earth ridge marking land boundary

jigyōdan (J) a farmers' association*; *lit.*, jigyō=enterprise, business; dan=a body, a group
jiisan (J) See ojiisan
jikan sanbashi (J) hourly wage work at the pier*; *lit.*, jikan=an hour, by the hour; sanbashi=a pier, a wharf
jinkō-chōsa (J) a census; *lit.*, jinkō=population; chōsa=survey
jinsei gojūnen (J) *lit.*, jinsei=human life; gojūnen=fifty years
jiyū imin (J) free immigrant*; *lit.*, jiyū=freedom, liberty; imin=immigration, emigration, an immigrant, an emigrant
jo (J) 3.314 yards
jōgo (J) a funnel
jūbako (J) a tier of boxes; a picnic box

kā (H) exclamation of mild disapproval, or surprise
ka'au (H) a numerical unit: forty
kabuki (J) a type of popular Japanese drama
kachi baku (Pi) "cutting back," pruning*
kachi kane (Pi) cutting sugarcane*
kadomatsu (J) the (New Year's) decoration pines
kāhili (H) feather standard, symbolic of royalty
kahita (F) suitcase
kahu hānai (H) foster parent (of adopted children)
kahuna (H) priest, minister, sorcerer, expert in any profession
kā'ili (H) to cast for fish
kaka (H) cluster
ka kai (H) colloquial pronunciation of kahakai, beach, seashore*
kalekale (H) name of the fourth growth stage of the ōpakapaka, a fish, about two feet long or more
kalo (H) taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), a kind of aroid cultivated since ancient times for food, spreading widely from the tropics of the Old World. In Hawaii, taro has been the staple from earliest times to the present.
kālua (H) to bake in a ground oven (imu)
kama'āina (H) native born; a long-time resident
kanaka (H) a Hawaiian person
kanaka-hapa (H) *lit.*, kanaka=a Hawaiian person; hapa=portion, fragment, part, fraction; of mixed blood; person of mixed blood
kanbun (J) Chinese writing; Chinese classics (classical literature)
kaniala (H) type of sweet potato*
kanten (J) agar-agar; Japanese gelatin

kapa 'apana (H) quilt with appliqued designs, also called kapa lau
kapakahi (H) one sided, crooked, lopsided, biased, partial to one side, to show favoritism
kappa (J) a raincoat
kappa dachi (J) dress with kimono-style sleeves*
kapu (H) taboo, prohibition
karabaw (F) water buffalo
karan-karan (J) onomatopoeia for clank-clank, clank-clank
karga(da) (S) load, burden; freight
karuta (J) a Japanese card game
kasuri (J) a splashed pattern, cloth with splashed patterns
Katta Gumi (J) *lit.*, victory group; group of Hawaii Japanese who believed that Japan would/did overcome the U.S. in World War II*
kaukau (Pi) eating; food*
kaukauali'i (H) class of chiefs of lesser rank than the high chief, the father a high chief and the mother of lower rank but not a commoner
kawara-buki (J) (a house) roofed with tiles, tiled roof
kazunoko (J) herring roe
kēhau (H) dew, mist, dewdrop
keiki (H) child, offspring, descendant
kēkake (H) donkey, jackass
kekela (H) reduplication of kela; that, that one, he, she, it, that person or thing; the former
kelemānia (H) earthern crock as used for poi, said to have been introduced from Germany
ken (J) a prefecture
kenbu (J) a sword dance
kendō (J) Japanese fencing; swordsmanship
Kepanī (H) a Japanese
keshō mawashi (J) *lit.*, keshō=makeup, dressing; mawashi=a sumō wrestler's loincloth, a loincloth; a mantle, a cape
Ketō (J) a (white) man, a Westerner
kiawe (H) algaroba tree
kibikuwa (J) hoeing sugarcane rows*; *lit.*, kibi=sugarcane; kuwa=hoe
kigen (J) an epoch; an era
Kigen-setsu (J) Empire Day; anniversary of the Emperor Jimmu's accession
kīhāpai (H) small land division, cultivated patch, garden, orchard, field, small farm
kīhei pili (H) two sheets, as of printed percale or patchwork, sewn together at edges, used as bed covering over the sleeper and under the nicer quilt; in some, the lower edges are left open so that a blanket may be inserted
Kimigayo (J) the Imperial reign; the national anthem of Japan
kimono (J) Japanese clothes; clothing; dress; wearing apparel
kinenkan (J) a memorial hall
kino (H) main portion
koa (H) the largest of native forest trees
koa-haole (also haole-koa) (H) a common roadside shrub or small tree, closely related to the koa. The small brown seeds are strung for leis, purses, and mats.
koi (J) carp
ko'i (H) axe, adze; adzelike, sharp
ko'i holu (H) an adze used to smooth a canoe
ko'i lipi (H) adze, axe
koimo (J) young taros; young tubers of taro
ko'i 'o'oma (H) small, oval adze used for finishing a canoe
kōkala'ole (H) thornless variety of pandanus; *lit*, kōkala=thorns on pandanus; 'ole=without; lacking
kōkea (H) a variety of sugarcane, one of the best known and most used canes, especially

in medicines
kōkō (J) pickled vegetables; pickles
koko'olau (H) colloquial pronunciation of ko'oko'olau, plant used medicinally as a tonic in tea*
kōkua (H) to help, assist; cooperate
kole (H) surgeonfish
kolohe (H) mischievous, naughty; unethical or unprincipled in any way
kolū (H) a thorny, weedy shrub widespread in the tropics. It is a legume with finely divided leaves and fragrant, round, orange flower heads.
komadre (F) the godmother of one's child; woman sponsor in baptism, confirmation or matrimony of one's child
kompang (Pi) to accompany, to cooperate; to share; to do together ; sugarcane cultivation by a small group*
konbu (J) a (sea) tangle; kelp
kono (J) this, these
konpa (J) company
kope (H) coffee
kopi/koppe (Pi) variant pronunciations of "coffee"*
kore (J) this
kōri (J) a wicker trunk
koshimaki (J) an underskirt; a loincloth; a waistcloth
kō'ula (H) a variety of sugarcane*
kozukai (J) spending money; pocket money
kua (H) rafter, beam
ku'i (H) to pound, punch, strike
kūkae (H) excreta
kūkū (H) See tūtū
kukui (H) candlenut tree
kūkulu (H) pillar, post, side, border, edge; to build, as a house; to construct, erect, establish, set up
kuleana (H) right, title, property
kūlolo (H) pudding made of baked or steamed grated taro and coconut cream
kumiai, also kumi (J) an association, a league, a partnership
kumu (H) main stalk of a tree trunk, handle or root; bottom, base, foundation, basis
Kun Hatto (J) eighth order of merit
kupa (H) soup, stew; to boil, to make soup or stew; boiled
kura (J) a warehouse; a storehouse
kū'ula (H) any stone god used to attract fish, named for the god of fishermen; open altar near the sea for worship of fish gods
kyōiku chokugo (J) the Imperial Rescript on Education
kyōritsu gakkō (J) *lit.*, kyōritsu=joint, common, public; gakkō=a school, a college, an academy

lau (H) a numerical unit: 400
lau hala (H) pandanus leaf, especially as used in plaiting
laukona (H) a variety of sugarcane with green and yellow striped canes and leaves; used in sorcery
laukūkū (H) *lit.*, lau=sweet potato slip or vine; kūkū=grandparents
laulau (H) packages of ti leaves or banana leaves containing pork, beef, salted fish, taro tops, baked in the ground oven, steamed or broiled
lau-loa (H) a variety of taro, said to be the original taro brought to Hawaii
lawelawe (H) to serve, work for, minister to, attend to, do, perform, transact; to treat, as the sick; to wait, as on tables; to handle
lei (H) garland, wreath; necklace of flowers, leaves, shells, ivory, feathers, or paper
lele (H) a tall variety of wild banana, formerly planted near the altar (lele). It was

offered to the gods and used for love magic.
libre (S) free
liliko'i (H) the purple water lemon or purple granadilla, an American vine with three-lobed leaves and edible, dull-purple fruits; passion fruit
lōlō (H) paralyzed, numb; feeble-minded
lomi (H) fish, usually raw, worked with the fingers and mixed with onions and seasoned
lona (H) a term commonly used in Kona, meaning hat block*
lū'au (H) Hawaiian feast, named for the taro tops always served at one
luna (H) foreman, overseer, supervisor, officer of any sort, commissioner

machi (J) a town, a city
magani (F) harvest
mahi'ai (H) farmer; to farm, cultivate, agricultural
mahimahi (H) dolphin, a game fish up to five feet long, popular for food
mahina (mahina'ai) (H) See mahi'ai
maiamaoli (H) a Hawaiian variety of banana, growing in uplands and lowlands. It has a green trunk and large leaves. The fruit is long, waxy-yellow, and has yellow flesh, edible raw or cooked.
mā'i'i'i (H) a fish, called by some the young of pualu and by others a distinct species of the genus *Acanthurus*.
maiko (H) the young of the pualu and palani (surgeon) fishes
maile (H) a native twining shrub with shiny fragrant leaves, used for decorations and leis
majime (J) serious; earnest
ma kai (H) toward the sea; in the direction of the sea
mākālua (H) hole for planting, as for taro; to dig such a hole
makawela (H) glowing, burning; full of hate; *fig.*, term for the despised outcasts
make (H) to die
makule (H) aged, old, of people
malo (H) male's loincloth
māmaki (H) small native trees with broad white-backed leaves and white mulberry-like fruit
mana (H) a variety of taro used in medicine, it propagates by branching from the top of the corm
mana 'ele'ele (H) a variety of taro: petiole and leaf with red-black markings
mana ke'o ke'o (H) a native variety of taro: white corm; mainly used as table taro, a favorite for making kūlolo; consistency tough for poi
mana 'ulu (H) a native variety of taro: distinguished by pinkish petioles. The corms have orange-yellow flesh when cooked (like breadfruit) and is mainly as table taro.
manini (H) very common reef surgeonfish in the adult stage
manjū (J) a bean-jam bun
mano (H) a numerical unit: 4,000
manuahi (H) gratis, free of charge
maoli (H) a native variety of banana, with tall, green trunk; the fruit forming large, compact bunches, having thick yellow skin and sweet yellow flesh, edible cooked or raw
marugiri (J) round pieces of a vegetable*
marunggay (F) horseradish tree
ma'u (H) all species of an endemic genus of ferns
ma uka (H) inland, upland, towards the mountain
mea'ono (H) cake of any kind, pastry, cookie; *lit.*, delicious thing
mendōkusai (J) troublesome; tiresome
menpachi (J) squirrel fish

having large eyes, reddish body
mikan (J) a mandarin orange; a tangerine
mīkana (H) the papaya, a small tree, a native of tropical America, long popular in Hawaii for its melon-like fruits
mimino (H) shriveling, as fruit or grass
minamina (H) to regret, be sorry; to grieve for something that is lost; regret, sorrow
miso (J) bean paste
moano (H) goatfish
mochi (J) rice cake
moemoe (H) reduplication of moe; to sleep, lie down; to lie in wait
mōhihi (H) a variety of sweet potato
moi (H) threadfish, much esteemed for food
molowā (moloa) (H) lazy
monosashi (J) a rule; a measure
monpe (J) (women's) Japanese-style pantaloons; (women's) work pants gathered at the ankles
montsuki (J) a garment bearing one's family crest; a crested kimono
mū (H) a fish, perhaps porgy or snapper
mua (H) front
mukaeru (J) meet; go (out) to meet
mura (J) a village; a hamlet
mushiro (J) a (straw) mat; straw matting
musubi (J) a rice ball

nagaya (J) a tenement house; row house
naioea (H) a native variety of taro, with long blackish leaf stem; blades large, dark-green; grown in uplands, valued for its red poi. Same as 'ele'ele.
nakōdo (J) a go-between; a middleman; a matchmaker
namakesuru (J) be idle; be lazy; be neglectful of one's duty
namasu (J) a dish of raw fish and vegetables seasoned in vinegar; Japanese fish salad
Nanbo ka (J) How much?
nani (J) what
Nehan-e (J) an anniversary of the death of Buddha
nenshi (J) the beginning of the year; New Year's Day, a round of New Year's visits
nihongi (J) traditional Japanese apparel
nihonjin (J) a Japanese person
nisei (J) second-generation American Japanese
nishime (J) vegetables and fish boiled with soy sauce
nishō (J) two shō (shō=0.447 U.S. gallon)
no (J) of; belonging to
nohu (J) edible fish with poisonous spines
noki (J) eaves
nukashi (J) bootlegged coffee*

o (H) of
obasan (J) a middle-aged woman; an aunt
Odai-san (Odaishi-san) (J) a saint; a great teacher of Buddhism
obā-san (J) an old woman; a grandmother
oba-san-tachi (J) *lit.*, oba-san= middle-aged woman; tachi=others
obi (J) a belt; a sash
O-bon (J) See Bon
o-cha (J) tea
ōgokku (Pi) main cook; cook of a plantation camp*; *lit.*, ō= main, chief; gokku=Japanese pronunciation of "cook"
'ohā (H) taro growing from the older root, especially from the stalk
'ohe (H) a native variety of taro, thriving at altitudes above 1,500 feet; leaf stem light-green, tinged with reddish-brown; the corm pink-tinted, making excellent poi
'ōhia (H) 1. 'ōhia-'ai mountain

apple 2. 'ōhi'a-lehua a plant with many forms, from tall trees to low shrubs, with red, pink, yellow, or white flowers. The wood is hard, good for flooring and furniture.

'ōhua (H) young of such fish as hīnālea, manini, pualu, uhu

oiko (J) wooden pack frame

ojiisan (J) an old man; a grandfather

okazu (J) subsidiary articles of diet; (side) dish

'ōkole (H) anus, buttocks

'ōkolehao (H) liquor distilled from ti root

oku-san (J) your (his) wife; Mrs.

oli (H) chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill at the end of each phrase; to chant thus

'olo (H) long gourd container used as a receptacle; long body of a gourd used as a hula drum

omiyage (J) a souvenir; a present

ono (H) large mackerel-type fish

'ōpakapaka (H) blue snapper

'ōpelu (H) mackerel scad

'opihi (H) limpet, any of several species of *Helcioniscus*

'opiuma (H) the Manila tamarind from tropical America, both cultivated and wild in Hawaii. Its round, flat, black seeds embedded in white, edible pulp were thought to resemble commercial opium, hence the name.

otera (J) a Buddhist temple

oya (J) a parent; a father; a mother; parents; natural guardian

pā (H) fence, wall

pāhoehoe (H) smooth, unbroken type of lava

pa'i (H) lining, as of pandanus or sugarcane leaves, inside thatching of pili grass; to line thus

paipai (H) common mispronunciation of pa'ipa'i.* See pa'ipa'i

pa'ipa'i (H) to clap

pakalōlō (H) marijuana or hemp

Pākē (H) a Chinese person

Pākē mushi (Pi) bedbug*; *lit.*, Pākē (H)=Chinese; mushi (J)= an insect, bug

pāku'iku'i (H) a surgeonfish

pala'i'i (H) a variety of taro, of common upland culture in Kona. The plant is short to medium, slender, with lilac-purple corm flesh and dark green petioles; used for poi. Also called lehua-pala'i'i.

palaka (H) block print cloth

palakea (H) a variety of taro, tall and stocky, distinguished by the black edge of the petiole; corm white, less acrid than most taros, used chiefly as a table taro, also medicinally

palani (H) a surgeonfish famous for strong odor

palaoa kāne (H) bread loaf with no line in the middle*; *lit.*, palaoa=bread; kāne=male

palaoa lūlū (H) dumpling

palaoa pōpō (H) dumpling

palaoa pūlehu (H) bread broiled over charcoal; *lit.*, palaoa= bread; pūlehu=to broil on hot embers

palaoa wahine (H) "female" or "woman" bread. Bread loaf with a line in the middle of the loaf*; *lit.*, palaoa=bread; wahine=woman

palewa'a (H) persons who protect a new canoe being carried from the forest to the sea

palu (H) fish bait made of fish head or stomach; also used for chumming

pani (H) to close shut, substitute, replace, fill a breach or vacancy; closure, stopper, lid, cover

pānini (H) the prickly pear

pāpale (H) hat

patchi (Pi) parchment coffee*; Japanese pronunciation of "parch", or parchment coffee

pau (H) finished, ended, completed, over, all done
pa'u (H) woman's skirt, sarong
pau hana (H) to finish work*
pia (H) Polynesian arrowroot whose starchy tubers were formerly used for food; general name for starch
piele (H) pudding of grated taro, sweet potato, yam, banana, or breadfruit, baked in ti leaves with coconut cream
piepiele (H) reduplication of piele. See piele
piko (H) 1. crown of the hat 2. navel, navel string, umbilical cord
pilau (H) rot, to stink
pili (H) type of grass formerly used for thatching houses in Hawaii
pilikia (H) trouble of any kind, great or small
pilo (H) some species of native shrubs in the coffee family
pipi (bipi) (H) beef, cattle
pipipi (H) general name for small mollusks
pōhakumau (H) a fishing term meaning "stone sinker"*; *lit.*, pōhaku=stone; mau=stuck, lodged
pohō (H) loss, damage; out of luck
pōhuehue (H) the beach morning glory, a strong vine found on sandy beaches in the tropics. Hawaiians still use the vines to drive fish into nets. Roots, stems and seeds were used for medicine.
poi (H) the Hawaiian staff of life, made from cooked taro corms, or rarely, breadfruit, pounded and thinned with water
poka (H) term used on Big Island for a type of liliko'i*
po'o-pa'a (H) fish about four to nine inches long with large scales on body and small scales on face, colored in blotches of blue, brown, and red with white vertical bars; *lit.*, hard head
pō'ou (H) a wrasse (any of numerous chiefly tropical, often brightly colored marine fishes of the family *Labridae*)
pōpō'ulu (H) same as mai'a-pōpō-'ulu. A Hawaiian variety of banana with short, green trunk; one of two varieties not taboo to women in old times; the root of young plants used medicinally
pua'a hiwa (H) a solid black pig, much desired for sacrifice
pualu (H) a species of surgeonfish about eight inches in length and brown or dull-gray in color
pūhala (H) pandanus tree
pūhi (H) any eel
puka (H) hole
pūko'a (H) spotted, as in several colors
pulapula (H) seedlings, sprouts, cuttings, as of sugarcane
pūlehu (H) to broil, as sweet potatoes, breadfruit, or bananas, placed on hot embers
pūlumi ni'au (H) broom made of coconut midribs tied together at one end
pūne'e (H) movable couch
pūpū (H) 1. general name for sea and land shells, beads; snail (Biblical) 2. a relish, hors d'oeuvre
pu'u (H) to cast or draw lots, as in dividing land by lot for inheritance

-ra (J) ...and others;...and the like;...and his followers
rakkyō (J) pickled scallions
renshū-sei (J) a student; a trainee; an apprentice
riji-chō (J) the chief (managing) director; the chairman of the board of directors
rōnin (J) a masterless (lordless, free) samurai

saikeirei (J) profound obeisance; the most respectful salutation
saimin (C) a local dish con-

sisting of noodles in a soup base; *lit.*, small noodles*

sakazuki (J) a wine cup; a wine glass; a goblet

sake (J) liquor; intoxicant; a Japanese liquor made from fermented rice

sakubun (J) composition; writing; an essay

sakura (J) See hana-fuda

-sama (J) Mr., Esq.,Madame; Messrs.

samurai (J) a warrior

-san (J) Mister, Miss, Mrs., Ms.

sarasara (J) onomatopoeia for rustling; gurgling; mumuring

sashimi (J) slices of raw fish

satoimo (J) a taro

se (J) 118.6 square yards

sei (J) grow

seinen-kai (J) a young men's association

semi (J) a cicada

sen (J) monetary unit equivalent to 1/100 yen

senbei (J) rice cracker

sengiri (J) long thin strips (of a vegetable); dried radish strips

sensei (J) a teacher; an instructor; a master; a doctor

sensu (J) a (folding) fan

seppuku (J) self-disembowelment; suicide by disembowelment

shaku (J) 30 cm., 0.994 ft.

shashin-kekkon (J) picture marriage; *lit.*, shashin=a photograph; kekkon=(a) marriage; matrimony; a union

shi (J) a city, a town

shibai (J) a play; a drama

shibori (J) white spots on a dyed ground; dapple; tie-dyed fabrics; a white-spotted cloth

shigin (J) recitation (chanting) of a Chinese poem

Shikari shikōshite iwaku... (J) It has been said that one should think positively...

shikata ga nai (J) (It) cannot be helped; have no choice (option, recourse) but (to do)

shingenbukuro (J) a cloth pouch; a hold-all

shinja (J) a believer; a devotee; an adherent; a follower; the faithful

shinnen (J) the New Year; a new year

shirimochi (J) animal waste used for fertilizer*; *lit.*, shiri=the hips, the buttocks, the behind; mochi=rice cake

shita (J) form of verb suru (do, perform)

shite (J) form of verb suru (do, perform)

shizoku (J) a descendant of a samurai

shōchū (J) low-class distilled spirits

shōgatsu (J) January; the New Year; early in the New Year

shōgi (J) Japanese chess

shogoin (J) type of Japanese radish*

shōji (J) a paper screen (sliding door)

shōjiki (J) honesty, uprightness; integrity; veracity

shōyu (J) soy sauce

shū (J) a (religious) denomination (sect)

shūji (J) penmanship; calligraphy

shūshin (J) morals; ethics

sipa sipa (F) reduplication of sipa; a game played with a very light ball which is kicked from one person to another

sore-kara (J) after that; since (then); (and) then

soroban (J) an abacus

sōshiki (J) a funeral

sumi (J) India ink; Chinese ink; an ink stick; an ink drawing

sumō (J) Japanese wrestling

surume (J) dried cuttlefish

sushi (J) vinegared rice

suzuri (J) an inkstone; an ink slab

tabi (J) (Japanese) socks; digitated socks

takuan (J) pickled radish

tan (J) 0.245 acre
tango-no-sekku (J) the Boys' Festival (on the fifth of May)
tanmono (J) piece goods; dry goods; drapery
tanomoshi(ko) (J) a mutual financing association
tara (J) a codfish
tasuki (J) a sash (cord) used for holding up tucked sleeves
tatami (J) a mat, matting
tawara (J) a straw bag
tegokku (Pi) family cook; colloquial form of kateigokku; *lit.*, katei (J)=family; gokku (Pi)= Japanese pronunciation of "cook"
Tenchō-setsu (J) the Emperor's Birthday
to (J) 4.765 U.S. gallons
tōfu (J) a piece of bean curd
ti (kī) (H) a woody plant in the lily family. Formerly, the leaves were put to many uses by the Hawaiians, as for house thatch, food wrappers, hula skirts, sandals; the roots were baked for food or distilled for brandy
tokkan (J) rushing the enemy
toko-no-ma (J) an alcove; the recess in a Japanese room in which something (e.g., a scroll) may be hung
toma (J) a rush mat; rush matting
tonari-gumi (J) *lit.*, tonari=a next-door; gumi=a group, a gang
ton ton (J) onomatopoeia for a knock; a rap; a tap; tap-tap
tora (J) a tiger; a tigress
tsubo (J) 35.58 sq. feet; 3.954 yards
tsukemono (J) pickles; pickled (salted) vegetables
tūtū (H) granny, grandma, grandpa; granduncle; grandaunt; any relative of grandparents' generation (often said affectionately; apparently a new word as it has not been noted in legends and chants)
'uala (H) the sweet potato, a perennial wide-spreading vine, with heart-shaped, angled, or lobed leaves and pinkish-lavender flowers
ubi (F) a yam with purple meat
udon (J) noodles; wheat vermicelli
uhu (H) the parrot fish
uke (J) contract
'ūkēkē (H) a variety of musical bow, 15 inches to 2 feet long and about 1-1/2 inches wide, with two or commonly three strings drawn through holes at one end. The strings were strummed.
ukekibi (J) independent cultivation of sugar by contract*
ukeoi-shi (J) a contractor; contract work; piecework
'ūkīkiki (H) early stage of both 'ōpakapaka and 'ula'ula fish, less than 12 inches long
uku (H) a deep-sea snapper
ukupau (H) piece labor, pay by the job rather than according to time, as on sugar plantations; *lit.*, finished pay
'ula (H) red, scarlet
'ulahiwa (H) a red cock; formerly, a black cock with red neck feathers and red rump feathers
'ula'ula (H) 1. various red snappers of the sub-family *Etelinae* 2. a native variety of taro with red or purple petioles, the corms used for both poi and table taro, grown in wetland and upland culture
'ūlei (H) a native spreading shrub found also on some other islands of the Pacific, with compound leaves, small,white roselike flowers, small,round white fruits
'ulī (H) See 'ulī'ulī
'ulī'ulī (H) a gourd rattle, containing seeds with colored feathers at the top, used for the hula
'ulu (H) the breadfruit

ulua (H) certain species of crevalle or jack, an important game fish and food item. It attains a length of 5 feet and a weight of over 100 pounds.
ume (J) pickled plum
'umeke (H) bowl, calabash, circular vessel, as of wood or gourd
undōkai (J) an athletic meet; field day
uno (S) one
uouoa (H) a fish known as the false mullet, distinguishable from the true mullet by its narrower and tapered mouth and creamy rather than silvery pectoral fins
'ūpāpalu (H) the larger cardinal fishes (family *Apogonidae*)
'upena ku'u (H) gill net
utai (J) chanting of a Noh (drama) text
'ū'ū (H) all squirrel fishes of the genus *Myripristis*

wafuku (J) Japanese clothes; a kimono
wahine (H) woman
wai (H) water
waiākea (H) a variety of taro, also called lehua-ke'oke'o; *lit.*, white lehua
wakame (J) seaweed
walu (H) oilfish, caught in deep water; large, much prized for eating and used as a cathartic
wana (H) sea urchin
weke (H) certain species of the Mullidae, surmullets or goatfish. All weke have large scales and are usually found in reefs, sometimes in deep water.
weke'ula (H) a species of weke. ('ula=red)
wiliwili (H) a Hawaiian leguminous tree with pods containing red, oblong seeds, used for leis. Light wood formerly used for surfboards, canoe outriggers and net floats

yadoya (J) an inn; a hotel; a tavern; a lodging house; a public house
yagaku (J) night school
yama (J) a mountain; a mount; a peak
yanagi-gōri (J) a wicker trunk
yasai (J) green vegetables
yen (J) the basic monetary unit of Japan
yonjū-ninen (J) 42 years; the 42nd year
yoseru (J) move (a thing) aside
yōshi (J) a son-in-law who takes his wife's family name; an adopted (foster) child (son); be adopted (into a family, as a person's son)
yuinō (J) a ceremonial exchange of betrothal gifts (between); a betrothal (an engagement) present (gift)
yukata (J) an informal kimono for summer wear

zashiki (J) a room
zenzai (J) thick bean-meal soup (with sugar and rice cake)
zōri (J) Japanese sandals
zutto (J) direct, straight

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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF KONA

Volume I

ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Ethnic Studies Program
University of Hawaii, Manoa

JUNE 1981